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MAY MEETING, 1880.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the Annual Meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian reported the accessions to the Library during the month. These included a curious "Plan for a Survey of a Canal from Boston to Connecticut River, . . . made under the direction of the Commissioners, by L. Baldwin, Engineer," 1826, in which is set down a proposal for a tunnel under the Hoosac Mountain; and a large and valuable volume, entitled "Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries," selected from the archives of the city, and prepared by Mr. Henry T. Riley, by order of the corporation of London. This volume was the gift of Mr. Winthrop.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters from the Rev. Edward G. Porter and James M. Le Moine, Esq., accepting their election to membership in the Society.

The President then announced the death of a Corresponding Member, as follows:—

The Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., whose name has been on our Corresponding roll for more than twenty years, died at New York, on the 14th of April last. Born at Charlestown, Mass., on the 30th of August, 1812, and a graduate of Harvard University with the class of 1832, his early sympathies and associations were with New England, and his attachments to the scenes and friendships of his youth were strong to the last.

Prepared for the ministry at the Cambridge Divinity School, he was for more than thirty years a Unitarian preacher, four years at Nashua, N. H., seven years at Providence, R. I., and twenty years at the Church of the Messiah in New York. Connecting himself afterward with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and dividing his time between Fairfield, Conn., and the city of New York, in both of which he had residences, he officiated and preached wherever he was called to do so, but had no stated parish.

He was a man of large and varied accomplishments, a prolific writer, greatly interested in historical studies, and earnestly devoted to the illustration and promotion of every department of good learning. He has left many warm friends, here as well as in New York, to whom his sudden death gave a shock, and who do not fail to regret the loss of one whose acquirements and abilities were still in the way of being so valuable to his fellow-men.

The President stated next that he had received for the Library from Mr. Samuel Bradford of Philadelphia, a privately printed memoir of his father, an early marshal of the United States for the Massachusetts district, to which the author had added, at the request of many friends, an autobiographical sketch. The thanks of the Society were voted for this gift. Messrs. Williams & Everett of Boston had written that they had on sale a view of Boston in 1820, painted by Thomas Cole, which picture was thought a desirable acquisition for the Society's Cabinet. This matter was referred to the Committee on the Cabinet.

Mr. WINTHROP presented another gift, saying :—

I have received from Mrs. Laura Winthrop Johnson, of Staten Island, N. Y., a large number of autograph letters and papers, to be presented to this Society, in her name and those of her sister, Elizabeth Winthrop, and her brother, Colonel William Winthrop, of Washington. Mrs. Johnson and her sister and brother are children of my late cousin, Francis Bayard Winthrop of New Haven, a former Corresponding Member of this Society,—the father, also, of Theodore Winthrop, who was killed at Big Bethel at the beginning of the late Civil War. These letters and papers are the originals of the Winthrop Papers printed by Mr. Savage in the Appendix to his successive editions of the old Governor's Journal or History of New England. If I have counted them correctly, there are thirty-seven letters from the Governor to his eldest son, John Winthrop, of Connecticut; eighteen letters from the Governor to his wife, Margaret Tyndal; seven letters of Margaret to her husband; one letter of the Governor to his sister, Mrs. Thomas Fones; and one to his son Henry; two original wills of the Governor, and one business memorandum of his. There is, also, one little letter or note from the younger Winthrop to his wife. In all there are sixty-eight papers, bearing dates from 1620 to 1648. I may add that these letters were included, with many others in

my own possession, in my "Life and Letters of John Winthrop."

These venerable autographs, however, cannot fail to be regarded as interesting and valuable, and I am sure the Society will deposit them sacredly among the precious things in its archives. They would form a volume by themselves, if carefully arranged by an expert, and I venture to propose that they be referred to Judge Chamberlain and Mr. Waterston for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. DEANE, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mrs. Templeton Johnson, and to her sister and brother for this interesting and valuable collection of letters, and they were referred to Messrs. Chamberlain and Waterston (as suggested by the President), with Mr. Winthrop, as a Committee to examine and arrange them.

An invitation was received from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences asking the attendance of this Society, by delegates, at the one hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Academy on the 26th of May. It was voted to accept the invitation, and the President was requested to appoint delegates to represent the Society.*

Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, of Philadelphia, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. D. A. Goddard was appointed to write a memoir of the Hon. Erastus B. Bigelow; Mr. Deane to prepare one of the Hon. Richard Frothingham; and Dr. H. M. Dexter one of the Rev. George Punchard.

Announcement was made that Mr. William T. Davis had resigned his place as a Resident Member, and that Mr. James Parton, having taken up his residence in the Commonwealth, had thereby ceased to be a Corresponding Member, under the Society's rule.

Mr. DEANE, from the Committee on the Early Proceedings, presented the second volume of these Proceedings in print, completing the work. To the record of the Society's meetings the Committee had added memoirs of all Resident Members deceased prior to the Annual Meeting of April, 1855, at which time the current Proceedings begin, and had given, in a note, brief sketches of those members who either resigned their membership or lost it by removal from the State.

* The President appointed subsequently Messrs. Leverett Saltonstall, Charles C. Smith, and Samuel A. Green as delegates; and the two gentlemen last named were present as representatives of the Society at the celebration.—EDS.

On motion of Mr. WINSOR, it was

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Deane and Mr. Smith for their valued services in the preparation of the Early Proceedings of the Society.

A serial number of the current Proceedings, completing a volume, was also laid upon the table, and the Committee, through its chairman, Mr. Dexter, stated that as soon as the index was prepared the volume would be issued and numbered xvii.; the filling of the gap by the publication of the second volume of the Early Proceedings having made it possible to designate the volumes by numbers, by which arrangement they could be conveniently cited.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR drew attention to the Society's copy of Price's view of Boston, dated 1743, and gave his reasons for believing that this view is from a revamped old plate, brought forward anew at that time to compliment Faneuil for the gift of his hall, the plate being dedicated by Price to that benefactor of the town. This 1743 plate has been generally considered, up to a year or two ago, the oldest known engraved view of Boston. The Public Library procured not many months ago a smaller view, measuring 18 by 12 inches, styled "Southeast View of the City of Boston, in North America; I. Carwithan, engraver, London; printed for Bowles and Carver, No. 69 St. Paul's Church Yard." Those who have carefully examined this view place it somewhat earlier than the Price-Faneuil view, as represented by the copies now known. A duplicate of this smaller view is owned by Mr. Henry H. Edes of Charlestown. Still another copy, with changes in the inscription, and with numbers attached to prominent buildings, belongs to a set of colored views, which were imported during the last century by Treasurer Storer, of Harvard College, for use in an instrument then in vogue, which represented such views under magnifying power. This set now belongs to Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, and the precise correspondence of the numbers in this smaller view with those of what seems to be the original series of figures in the Price-Faneuil (1743) view led Mr. Winsor to think that we have in this view a close transcript of the original condition of the larger plate. There is a second copy of the 1743 view in the Public Library, which formerly belonged to the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., and it was from this last that the lithographic reduced *fac-simile* was made some years ago. A third copy, of much better condition than the other two, belongs to the

American Antiquarian Society. The recently published albertype reproduction is reduced from the lithographic *facsimile* which omits some features of the original. Dr. Greenwood, in his History of the King's Chapel, mentions an engraved view, showing Boston as it appeared in 1720, but no such view bearing that date is now known. Fortunately the statement is accompanied by a vignette extract from this alleged 1720 view, showing old King's Chapel and Beacon Hill behind it. This small extract, by comparison, is shown to correspond with Price's view as we know it, even to the bad drawing of the buildings, but with two significant differences. Beacon Hill has shrubbery on it in the large print, and the Hancock house, erected in 1737, cuts the southerly line of Beacon-hill slope, and these are not in the vignette. This would show that the plate Greenwood copied from was of a condition anterior to 1737. Further, the principal buildings in the 1743 view are numbered, as before intimated, from Boston Neck to the North End in regular sequence from 1 to 49, with explanations in the margin. Now, scrutiny shows that no building erected after 1731 is included in this sequence of numbers with one significant exception, while buildings erected subsequent to 1731 are numbered in irregular order with figures higher than 50. This would indicate that the state of the plate, when the numbering was first put on, must be of an earlier date than 1731. The exception referred to is this: In the marginal description number 10 is "the South Meeting-house, built 1669," while number 10 in the picture shows the body of the old church which stood on that site, topped with the present steeple, erected in 1729, and not very neatly joined. The inference is that the engraver added the steeple to the older plate, which had the original meeting-house, and neglected to change the date "1669" in the margin to "1729," to correspond. In this regular sequence of numbers the new brick church and Christ Church come in their proper places, and as these buildings were erected respectively in 1721 and 1723, it would seem that the original condition of the plate must be later than these dates.

Mr. Winsor's deduction was this,—that the original plate of Price's view must have been executed between 1723 and 1729, and must represent the oldest known engraved view of Boston. He hoped a copy of the picture as originally engraved might be brought to light. In the mean while the smaller view, already referred to, must be held to represent it.

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE communicated a diary kept by

Lieutenant-Colonel Eld, of the Coldstream Guards, during his service in America in the Revolutionary War, saying: —

Mr. President, — Toward the end of last summer, our colleague, the librarian of the Public Library, purchased for that institution a copy of Tarleton's "History of the War in the Southern States," which he had found under the general title "America," thus set forth in the July number of Sotheby's catalogue of second-hand books: —

"History of the Campaigns of 1780-81 in the Southern Provinces of North America, by Lt.-Col. Tarleton, Commandant of the British Legion. Large map, and 4 plates of battles. 4to, interleaved and bd. in 2 vols.: hf. calf. £1. 1s. 1787."

To this description was added in small type the words: —

"Contains additional information in MS. of some historical importance; evidently by an actor in the scenes described."

I have recently examined these volumes, and found that they agree, in one sense, literally with the bookseller's description of them. The manuscript gives no account of the war in the South; but it contains so interesting a contribution to the minor accounts by British officers of their service in the Colonies during our war for independence, that, brief as it is, I have caused it to be copied for publication in our Proceedings, if, as I venture to believe, my own opinion of it is confirmed by the favorable judgment of the Society.

The name of "Lt.-Col. Eld" at the top of the titlepage, and the manuscript itself are alike written in the same bold and beautiful hand. The watermark and quality of the interleaved sheets upon which the diary is written show that soon after Tarleton's book was published, this copy of it was sent to a binder, taken apart, divided into two volumes, interleaved and rebound, to enable the owner, who, as he himself says, wrote "only for the sake of reference and personal recollection," to copy into the work thus enlarged a record of his military service in America, from his arrival at New York, in the summer of 1779, till the incorporation of his regiment in the Southern army under command of Lord Cornwallis, in January, 1781. The diary stops short, however, with a brief entry under date March 26 (1780). Why Lieutenant-Colonel Eld abandoned the task at so early a date, unless by reason of his death in battle, cannot now be determined.

Of the author of this manuscript I have found in the ordinary sources of information but slight mention. Although it is stated in the "Gentleman's Magazine" that he was born

in America, it is probable that he was related to the only county family of the name, the Elds of Seighford Hall, in Staffordshire. Burke, however, makes no mention of him in the brief genealogy of that family given in the "Landed Gentry." According to the roll of the Coldstream Guards as given in Colonel Mackinnon's history of that regiment, George Eld was appointed an "ensign, 30 March, 1776; lieutenant, 5 May, 1780; captain, 16 December, 1789; surrendered prisoner of war at Yorktown, 19 October, 1781; embarked for England, October, 1782."

Colonel Eld, it is thus seen, had been three years in the Guards, when, an ensign, he accompanied his regiment to America, and began his notes for the diary he was never to complete. During the remainder of the war he served both in the Northern and Southern States. On the 3d of February, 1780, he was in the attack on Young's House, at White Plains, and again on the 23d of March (as he has the date), in the unsuccessful expedition against the American post at Paramus, in the Jerseys. Of both these actions Colonel Eld gives in his diary interesting accounts. In the following November, soon after the Guards, under the command of Major-General the Honorable Alexander Leslie, had been sent to Virginia, Colonel Mackinnon relates that "a detachment under the Honorable Lieutenant-Colonel Steuart and Captain Maitland of the First Guards, also Captain Schutz and Eld of the Coldstream, were engaged with a party of Continentals and militia at the Great Bridge," and defeated them, taking four pieces of cannon. The Guards were soon re-embarked after this success, and on the 13th of December were landed at Charleston. Ordered at once to join the forces under Lord Cornwallis, they overtook his troops on the 18th of January, 1781. When the British army crossed the Catawba on the 1st of February, Captain Eld escaped unhurt, although the light infantry of the Guards to which he belonged, who were the first to enter the water, suffered severely while crossing, from the fire of a small body of militia under General Davidson, who gallantly held his ground, till, surrounded by the enemy, he was killed.* The same good fortune preserved Captain Eld on the 15th of March in the hard-fought battle which followed Lord Cornwallis's attack on General Greene's army at Guildford Court House. In this stubborn contest, where the British army were so weakened by their loss, that, although able to hold their ground on the night

* See Lamb's Journal, pp. 343-345.

after the battle, they were forced on the next day to retreat toward the coast "for rest and refitment," the Guards lost heavily in officers and men. The war was soon afterward transferred to Virginia, where, a few months later, the British army was hemmed in at Yorktown and compelled to surrender.

Colonel Eld arrived in England in the beginning of 1783. For ten years the care and pleasure of London life compensated him for the hardships and captivity he had undergone in America.

When, in January, 1793, England joined the other great powers in declaring war against France, the first battalions of the three regiments of the Guards received orders to prepare for active service. Their companies were at once filled up and made complete. On the 25th of February, after inspection by the king himself, the Guards were marched to Greenwich, where, in the presence of the royal family, who had come down to witness their departure, they embarked for Flanders. Joining the Prussian and Austrian forces at Maulde, the Guards, who formed part of the Duke of York's army, lost heavily, on the 8th of May, in the attack upon General Dampierre's forces near Tournay. Valenciennes was captured by the British on the 28th of July; on the 29th, Colonel Eld, who had been sent to London a few weeks before on special duty, rejoined his regiment in command of a light infantry company, which, after the departure of the Guards for the Continent, had been raised in England, under a royal warrant, dated April 19, 1793. On the 14th of August the British army separated from the allied forces near Cambray, and marched toward Dunkirk, in the vain attempt to besiege that fortress, and, by its capture, to restore it once more to the crown of England. Passing through Ypres on the 20th, the troops encamped on the evening of the next day, near Furnes, the westernmost town of Flanders, close to the French frontier. On the retreat of the French outposts toward Dunkirk on the 22d the British forces occupied the ground it was intended to hold during the siege.

Two days later, in a general attack on the outposts, the light infantry battalion to which Colonel Eld was attached, forcing their way through thick hedges and deep ditches, between the canal of Furnes and the sea, drove the enemy at last into the town. But, when the fight was over, Lieutenant-Colonel Eld, who had fallen gallantly leading on his command, lay dead upon the field. His body was carefully taken up and carried back to camp, and on the 26th of August, 1793, was buried

in the presence of the Duke of York and of many officers of the army with full military honors.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for September, 1793, there appeared the following obituary of Colonel Eld:—

"August 24. Unhappily slain in an attack upon the French outposts between the canal of Furnes and the sea, Colonel Eld, of the Cold-stream Regiment of Footguards, and Lieutenant-General Count Edward d'Alton, in the Austrian service. The former (a brave and experienced officer) went to Holland with the first detachment of guards that left this country, but was in town again, for a few days, about six weeks since, and was presented to his Majesty upon receiving a commission in the light infantry brigade. He was born in America, but received his education in England. His fortune descended to him from his uncle, the late Mr. Eld, who was well known in this country. Colonel Eld was interred on the 26th with great pomp, the Duke of York, the light infantry of the guards, and many of the officers attending."

It may be that among Colonel Eld's letters, if they are still preserved by any of his race, additional information may hereafter be found and made known. But, from the little that is known of him, we may be sure that he was a gallant gentleman, brave and deserving, whose short life reflected honor upon the land of his birth, and the distinguished corps to which he belonged.

Mr. CHASE then read extracts from the diary which is here printed.

It should be observed, that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, on the appointment of the Right Honorable the Earl of Cornwallis to the command in the East Indies, had applied to that nobleman for permission to accompany him. Lord Cornwallis's refusal to such request, if it did not positively produce the history of the campaigns of '80 and '81, influenced the work to establish conclusions and censures, but too frequently unjust, because decided from events without fairly bringing forward the local circumstances, and partial situations that were productive of such events and perhaps swerved the wisdom of the moment. To exemplify this; Colonel Tarleton, with more ingenuity than is absolutely necessary to the character of a brave and liberal soldier, negatively implies that the conduct of the Earl Cornwallis was exceedingly injudicious when, speaking of the battle of Guildford, he says, "The reasons which now induced General Greene not to decline a general engagement equally indicated his wisdom and professional knowledge. A defeat of the British would have been attended with the *total destruction* of Earl Cornwallis's infantry, whilst

a victory at this juncture could produce no very decisive consequences against the Americans."

Under impressions of this description, no reader can deny that the conduct of Earl Cornwallis appears highly reprehensible to hazard the total destruction of his army, when no material advantage could be gained ; it is true, that these observations made by Colonel Tarleton are introduced as a compliment to the discernment of General Greene, yet the concealed censure, intended for the Earl, is but too artificially covered, not to be obvious to the eye of the most inattentive reader.

Earl Cornwallis was so far advanced in the country that he had no alternative ; he had either to pursue or be pursued. To retreat before a superior army is equally as hazardous and perhaps more destructive than a general engagement, nor was it possible to follow an army, one day's march in advance only, where forage and provisions were to be obtained but by skirmishing ; it should also be ever remembered that delay would have added fresh vigor to General Greene's army, that each day would have poured in recruits to the American arms, whilst the British forces must have experienced a fatal decrease ; and, thus circumstanced, Earl Cornwallis would have had not the most distant hopes of success, but would have experienced all the calamities of destruction and conquest that were avoided by his timely and well-judged conflict at Guildford. This allowed, the conduct of General Greene will not appear to merit the high encomium that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton has so unnecessarily given to him, for in the short space of fourteen days the above suppositions would have been realized.

I have dwelt thus long upon this, to show how easy it is to misrepresent under the semblance of truth and candor.

During the time that General Sir Henry Clinton was besieging Charlestown, General Knyphausen had the command of the British forces at New York.

The Guards and other detachments amounting to 2,500 joined Lord Cornwallis Jan. 20, 1781, in South Carolina, to which period I shall endeavor to recollect such events as more immediately concerned myself, without endeavoring to give a general history of the campaigns to the northward, as I write only for the sake of reference and personal recollection.

May 1, 1779. Set sail for America, in the "Grand Duke" (formerly an East India ship), arrived off Sandy Hook; August 23, and landed in the city of New York 25th.

No unusual events attended this voyage : a storm which took away the foremast, the ship ran foul of the "Romulus" (74 guns), that took away the quarter galley, and three gales of wind and a water-spout.

On my arrival at New York, I was appointed to the light infantry company of the Guards, although an ensign, and in January, 1780, for two months had the command of that company, &c. Quartered in the city of New York.

Oct. 23. A skirmish in the Jerseys ; destroyed some boats ; lost six or seven of the light company, &c.

26th. Marched from New York to the lines, King's Bridge. Encamped.

Oct. 27. The weather very cold and rainy. On duty at an advanced redoubt; the rebel light horse appeared. I was ordered out with fifty light infantry; after a few shots fired and received, the light horse retreated.

Nov. 14. Deep and heavy snows. The light infantry company guards, commanded by Colonel Watson, with intentions to intercept a party of rebel light horse and infantry, marched from the lines at nine o'clock at night; being fired at near Delancey's Mills, I was detached, and soon learned that the shots came from friendly refugees who joined the detachment. Remained on the ground two hours, and then proceeded, being reinforced with fifty of Demur's light horse, to East Chester; remained three hours in ambuscade on our arms till the day dawned, when, being discovered by the advance guard of the enemy, fired into the midst of them; several were wounded, but being mounted made their escape; nine were killed and two made prisoners; two or three wounded on our side; pursued the main body unsuccessfully; returned to King's Bridge, after having marched twenty-nine miles through deep snows, &c.

Nov. 20. Distant shots at the rebel light horse.

Dec. 2. A most violent storm of wind and rain, with snow; most of the tents blown down. Exchanged a few shots on an out parole.

Dec. 20. Hard frost; the soldiers huttied. My hut not finished. A party of rebels attacked and plundered the inhabitants of Morrisania and the West Farms; the light infantry of the Guards with Demur's horse were detached to pursue, and overtook them, taking eight prisoners, killing five, twenty-five horses, and recovered the plunder, &c. We had three wounded. On our return met a patrol of Colonel White's light horse; fired at the party; they fled precipitately.

Dec. 26. The frost intense; attempted unsuccessfully to take a rebel whale-boat, which was entangled in the ice of the North River.

Dec. 27. Huttied. The weather pleasant and healthy; the mornings clear and cold, the serenity of the sky beautiful, the midday pleasant, but the evening dreadfully cold.

Jan. 1, 1780. Appointed to the command of the light infantry company.

6th. Snow-storms.

16th. Two o'clock in the morning, the house of Colonel Hetfield beyond the lines at Morrisania was fired by a detachment of rebels, who, after having made the colonel prisoner, and maliciously committed some pitiful depredations, retreated. The two light infantry companies of the Guards, with the mounted refugees, were ordered out under the command of Colonel Hall. After a march of twenty-five miles fell in with their rear guard; a trifling but general contest ensued: nine rebels were killed, sixteen taken prisoners, many wounded. The rebels now appeared to the number of eight hundred, when on our taking an advantageous situation, they retired. We returned twelve

miles, and remained the night in some log houses, and returned to the lines on being joined by a detachment sent out to cover our retreat.*

Jan. 18. The river frozen.

21st. Rode to New York. At twelve at night, entering the coffee-house, I was accosted by Lieutenant Callender of the 42d regiment (with whom I had no acquaintance), who insolently asked me if I would drink some punch. I declined the offer. On this he observed, "Ubi periculum est, ibi est gloria," and asked me if I wanted a translation. I told him no, but requested an explanation. On that he drew a small sword; I also drew mine, which was a very short couteau. He perceived the superiority he possessed from the difference of the weapons, which seemed to stimulate his cowardice to the attack, which he began by two lunges, which having parried, with all the fury and vigor I possessed, I returned by cutting at him, without paying any attention to a guard; he retreated the length of the coffee-house. I had now beat the point of his sword down, and intended to have killed him, but was prevented by Captain Peirce, who seized hold of my wrist and arrested the stroke. I told him his interference was unmanly and ungentlemanlike, as the contest was not finished. By this time some officers had taken Captain Callender's sword from him. I declared if any person presumed to touch my sword, I would run him through the body. Captains Peirce and Callender next morning asked my pardon. I afterwards was informed that Captain C., being an uncommon good swordsman, often insulted strangers in a similar manner. The disgrace he experienced from the contest in some measure cured him.

Jan. 22. Returned to King's Bridge. On an outpicket under the command of Colonel Norton.

23d. On the alert. The river being passably frozen, an attack on the lines from Washington was apprehended.

25th. Severe weather.

27th. On duty at the advanced redoubt, Prince Charles. The night cold and dark; ordered to return, the work being deemed too unsafe.

28th. The officers (Ensign Goodriche and myself) of the 2d Light Infantry never undress, nor the soldiers, the river being frozen.

Jan. 30. The North River opposite King's Bridge frozen over, a circumstance not remembered by the oldest inhabitant of this island. Since Sir Henry Clinton's detachment sailed from New York, the effective forces that remain to guard the island are in number less than 13,000.

Feb. 3. The light infantry and grenadiers of the Guards (480) under the command of Colonel Norton, were ordered on a party to surprise a rebel post named Young's House. The snow having fallen with much continuance and severity, sleighs were provided to convey the soldiers to the post; these conveyances were immediately quitted, for the cold was too intense to remain inactive, nor was it possible for the horses to get through the snow; the horses, sleighs, and a three-

* See Thacher's Journal, p. 185.—Eds.

pounder for these reasons were left within the lines at King's Bridge. At half-past ten o'clock the detachment marched; the night was dark; to prevent discovery, the high road was avoided, and by eleven the next day, after a march of twenty-six miles, through unfrequented paths and untouched snow, the rebel post was completely surrounded. The house was stone, strongly and advantageously situated; some slight defences were formed in front of the post, which consisted of two hundred and sixty selected Continentals, who, having intelligence of our approach, were judiciously disposed to annoy or prevent the attack. After a spirited and brisk conflict of firing, during which time our detachment formed more collectedly than at the first advance was possible to effect, from the depth of the snow, the light infantry horn sounded the charge; the rebels retreated within the house, which was soon stormed by the grenadiers, and now a short but destructive contest ensued. The house was fired, and many of the enemy who had retreated for security to the cellars were crushed in the burning ruins. Sixty of the enemy effected their escape, seventy were made prisoners, and the remainder killed or so badly wounded as to be left on the ground. Two officers were killed; nine taken prisoners. On our part the loss was trifling: sixteen killed, thirty slightly wounded. Colonel Norton slightly wounded and two officers. The detachment now returned and entered the lines at ten o'clock the next night, *without once halting.**

Feb. 4. Early in the morning ordered with thirty light infantry to march the prisoners to New York. Returned next day.

March 23. At six in the evening a detachment of six hundred, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, marched to Spithim [Spuyten] Devil Creek, from whence at about ten they embarked on flat-bottomed boats, and landed at half-past twelve at Kloster Lock, in the Jerseys. Having marched till seven in the morning, I was sent forward with sixty light infantry to attack a rebel picquet, on the right of the main body of the rebels, who were advantageously posted and fortified in a church-yard at a place called Paramus. The picquet was placed at the edge of a wood, with a plain of half a mile in the rear. I surprised the picquet, who instantly fled, and the most famous chase over the plain ensued. We were in at the death of seven. I had given orders that my party should not fire, but use their bayonets; notwithstanding, the main body, being apprised of Colonel Howard's attack, fled into the woods. I fired at an officer who was mounted, who, to save himself, cast away his saddle-bags, which contained above \$27,000 paper currency, orders, letters, &c. The dollars (reserving a few thousand for myself) I sold for a farthing each, and distributed to the men. After a tiresome pursuit, I rejoined Colonel H., who immediately retreated. On our return, which was by a different route, we were joined by a detach-

* There is an account of the attack on Young's house in Stedman's "American War," vol. ii. pp. 235-238; and another in the diary of young George Mathew, the nephew and *aide-de-camp* of General Mathew, published in the "Historical Magazine," vol. i. p. 103. Both narratives give the date of the expedition as February 2. — Eds.

ment of the 42d regiment and Hessians, and 43d. The rebels now collected and began to harass our rear. I had the command of the rear guard; Captain Dundass flanked. The road in which we marched was wide and walled on each side; the road being a continuation of sudden hills. The main body was little annoyed, and afforded me an opportunity of disputing each height; the rebels made three charges, and each time were repulsed; their loss was as ten to one. Colonel Howard's retreat was so precipitate that he never once detached a party to my support. Fortunately for me, the rebels now changed their attack to the left of our line of march; they now flanked from behind trees, and with the greatest security,—the road on that side being open and a narrow and impassable swamp immediately adjoining it. Thus we retreated, annoyed by a constant fire, with great loss, which produced general confusion, Colonel Howard neglecting to give any orders till we arrived at a bridge. So great was Howard's confusion that, as the rear guard was crossing the bridge, he was threatening the trembling owner of the adjacent house with death and destruction if he did not take up the planks of the bridge; as this was impossible, our army not choosing to make the attempt, and the owner of the house from inclination not intending to do it, I volunteered the duty and promised Colonel Howard to destroy the bridge. I never professed myself a volunteer for any duty, but on this occasion I had two reasons for my conduct.

The first reason arose from my having perceived that the enemy were bringing cannon and horse, the whole weight of which must have been sustained by the rear guard; the other was vanity,—the vanity of attempting that danger which a whole army had avoided. I now called the light infantry, which composed the rear guard, to assist me; but so great was the panic, *that only four* remained. Captain Dundass, hearing my voice, joined me, as did Captains Anstruther and Dennis, with one private of the 43d, and two privates of the 42d regiment. The Hessian detachment, perceiving our intentions, formed on a small rise and covered our attempt. Under a very heavy fire, we effected our design, by dislodging the planks, which effectually prevented the horse and field-pieces from following our line of march. As this was done in the full view of the whole army, my vanity once more got ascendancy over my reason, inducing me to remain the last on the bridge. In our retreating from the bridge, three of the light infantry were killed, one of the 42d and 43d. Captain A. was wounded; Lieutenant Dennis slightly; Dundass and myself escaped. For having thus destroyed the bridge, which rendered the rest of the retreat safe and easy, Captain Dundass and myself received in public orders the thanks of General Mathew, the commanding officer at King's Bridge, as also General Knyphausen's thanks, commander-in-chief at New York. We now (March 24, five o'clock, evening) recrossed the North River, after a march of forty miles through the enemy's country. We took one captain and one hundred privates; our loss must have been nearly three hundred.

March 25. Commanded twenty light infantry and twenty grenadiers in pursuit of some rebels ; took two ; the rest fled.

March 26. Got permission to visit New York and to perform at the theatre.

Mr. WILLIAM EVERETT spoke in substance as follows :—

I desire, sir, to call the attention of the members to a scheme which is assuming somewhat serious proportions ; in which, if it is really judicious, the Historical Society ought to help ; against which, if it is otherwise, it is our duty to protest. I mean the scheme for erecting a monument to some person called the first discoverer of New England ; not, however, John Cabot, or Sebastian Cabot, or Verrazzano, but an indefinite Northman, to whom, if I may be allowed a very bad pun, it is proposed to put up a *Leif* statue.

This scheme is espoused by several of our citizens, who, it is hardly unfair to say, are more enthusiastic than critical ; largely stimulated by the patriotic fervor of a Norwegian gentleman living among us, most eminent for genius of a peculiar order, but hardly an authority on matters of history. We all have heard a great deal, sir, of the Northmen who perhaps discovered New England, or something else, in the year 1000. Our books are filled with the same story, over and over again, of Biorn and Thorwald, and Helluland and Markland and Vinland, and Krossaness and Kjalarsness, and Snorro Sturleson and Peringskiold ; but it is perhaps not so well known how very shadowy and vague are all these accounts. Dr. Palfrey has put the story excellently in his second chapter. It is purely romantic, interpolated in the Heimskringla, which is most commonly given as the authority, promulgated originally by the fervid zeal of Professor Rafn, and discredited (as I am informed by Professor Haynes) by the best modern antiquaries of Denmark ; it appears nowhere recorded till more than two centuries after the supposed date ; and the indications which identify Vinland and New England melt away to nothing. Dighton Rock and the tower at Newport are quoted only to be laughed at ; and the famous latitude indication, the *eykterstadt* and *dagmalastadt*, is like saying that daylight in Vinland lasts from breakfast-time till into the afternoon !

As Mr. Dexter reminded us last month, when Professor Rafn first published the “Antiquitates Americanæ,” in 1837, everybody was swept away by the tide of “the new discovery.” Columbus and the Zeni were nowhere ; and the Scandinavian gentleman to whom I have alluded avows that he

considers the erection of a statue to Eric only an act of justice to the real discoverer of the North American continent, whose honor is usurped by the Genoese. But the very exaggeration with which the Danish antiquaries pressed the matter has led historical scholars to sift the evidence, and he must be indeed passionately fond of pretty stories who is really prepared to assert that we know that settlers from Iceland passed a winter in New England, as we know that settlers from England colonized Roanoke. It is absurd, while Cabot and Virginia Dare stand uncommemorated, to erect a statue with any thing resembling an historical motive to Leif or Eric or Thorwald.

I should very possibly be told, sir, if one member were present who is much interested in the project, that Governor Everett was interested in this subject in 1837; that he delivered an address suggesting this very monument, and that he wrote the Lament of Thorwald. I am aware of it, sir. I am very familiar with his article in the "North American Review," in which, with his own sly humor, which I suspect Professor Rafn was perfectly incapable of comprehending, he points out a dozen weaknesses and indeed absurdities in the attempt to give Vinland a definite existence. When he was endeavoring to stir the sluggish martinetts of Copenhagen into giving Miss Maria Mitchell the king's gold medal for her comet discovered at Nantucket, almost in despair at making them enter into the subject as he desired, he raked up Vinland as a possible equivalent for Nantucket; but I have heard him repeatedly declare his conviction in later years that the whole attempt to fix the "discoveries" of Biorn and his successors to New England, and in any way to destroy the irrefragable glories of Columbus and Cabot, was of the most moonshiny character, and he expressed the heartiest satisfaction with Dr. Palfrey's exploding of the "old mill" theory.

I venture to propose, sir, to the Council, to consider if some proper statement should not be submitted to the public of the entirely unhistorical character of the events which it is proposed to commemorate in a form that ought to be reserved for real men, who did something for New England.

Mr. DEANE said: —

Mr. President,—I wish to say that I sympathize with brother Everett in what he has said as to the shadowy nature of the evidence concerning the alleged visits of the Northmen to the shores of Massachusetts or New England. When I

first critically examined the foundation of the stories, and read the narratives themselves in the shape in which they have come down to us, I was deeply impressed with their unhistorical character. The narratives, if they can be called such, are mere traditions, orally repeated from generation to generation, and not committed to writing till two centuries or more after the events they pretend to relate took place. Indeed, the earliest manuscripts extant are some four centuries later.

I do not forget that sagas were originally the foundation of most of the early history of the northern nations, and, indeed, of older states, and that scholars like Humboldt, Wheaton, Rafn, Beamish, and Laing, accept them as a basis on which to construct something like a history. Certainly, the judgment of an early well-known writer like the author of the "Heimskringla,"—Snorro Sturleson,—who embodied in his work the knowledge and traditions of his day, may well be accepted as embracing much that is trustworthy. He has a brief allusion to the discovery of Vinland, but the most authentic manuscripts of this author do not contain the full narrative as published by Peringskiold in 1697. The sagas of Eric the Red, and others, which are the principal authorities for the visits of Leif and his successors to these shores are of unknown authorship; that is to say, we know not by whom nor at what time they were originally composed, nor when they were committed to writing.

It might perhaps be over-bold to contend that these half-poetical recitations of a story-teller are fictions, like the poems of Ossian; yet to elevate them to the dignity of historical relations in all their details, and to place implicit reliance on the data given as to time and place, seem to me unwarrantable. They are shadowy and mythical in form, and often uncertain in meaning.

I may add that Mr. Samuel Laing, the learned editor of the "Sea Kings of Norway," who accepts the general fact as to the discovery of America by the Northmen, thinks that no reliance can be placed on the theory of Professor Rafn that Vinland was anywhere in New England, and that his interpretation of the passage by which the length of the day is determined is exceedingly doubtful. He favors the opinion of Torfæus that a proper interpretation of the language would indicate the latitude of Newfoundland or the St. Lawrence.

The sentiment of the meeting appeared to be decidedly in favor of the views expressed by these members.

Mr. DEANE communicated, in behalf of the Rev. B. F. DeCosta, of New York, a copy of a manuscript relating to the Sagadahoc Colony of 1607-8, which Mr. DeCosta had procured from the original in the Lambeth Palace Library in London, and which was the same used by Strachey in an abridged form, in his "Historie of Travaille" published by the Hakluyt Society of London. Mr. DeCosta had prepared a preface and notes to the narrative, and Mr. Deane submitted the whole to the Society for publication in their Proceedings, if it should prove acceptable.

The papers were referred to the Committee on the Proceedings, with the understanding that Mr. Deane would give them the benefit of his advice in carrying the work through the press.

THE SAGADAHOC COLONY.

PREFACE.

In the year 1849 the Hakluyt Society published Strachey's work, entitled "The Historie of Travaille into Virginia Britannia," edited by R. H. Major, Esq. Chapters VIII., IX., and X. contained an account of the Popham Colony, planted in the year 1607, at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Prior to the appearance of that work, but few of the details respecting the colony were known. In 1852 the portion of Strachey's "Historie" which included the story of the colony was reprinted, with additional notes, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (4th ser. vol. i. p. 219). The following year four chapters of the same part of the "Historie" were printed with new notes in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (vol. iii. p. 286). In 1862 the Maine Society held a celebration on the site of the ancient colony, publishing the proceedings, during the following year, in a "Memorial Volume." Subsequently, certain features of the undertaking were discussed by several writers in the Boston daily press. In 1866 a number of the articles thus given to the public were reprinted, and a bibliography of the subject was added. No essentially new facts, however, were laid before the public.

This manuscript was found by the writer in the summer of 1875, while engaged in a careful search for historical material. It is now given to the public entire for the first time. By a comparison of the narrative with Strachey's, it will be seen that the manuscript, or at least a tolerable copy, must have passed through his hands, forming indeed the principal source of his knowledge respecting the Popham Colony. Portions of the manuscript were copied by him almost verbatim, though other portions were either epitomized or omitted.

Upon the titlepage of the manuscript, subsequently prefixed to it, the author's name is wanting, but we incline to the opinion, upon the evidence given below, that it was written by James Davies, one of the Council of the colony. The account partially covers the voyage of two

ships, the "Gift of God" and the "Mary and John," to the Kennebec in 1607, together with a relation of many events which immediately followed. Unfortunately, the closing portion of the manuscript has disappeared. This mutilation must have occurred since Strachey wrote, as a continuation of the narrative is found in that writer's "Historie." Concerning Strachey himself, comparatively little is known, though he was Secretary to the Virginia Colony in 1609-10. Besides his work on the "Laws of Virginia," published at Oxford, in 1612, he wrote the very interesting account, in Purchas, of the shipwreck of Gates at Bermuda, and narrated subsequent events in Virginia. Of his "Historie of Travaille," he left two copies in manuscript, both referred to by Mr. Major, one of which is preserved in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The latter copy lacks the intercalated sketches made on the coast of Maine. From the Oxford manuscript we have drawn the portion corresponding with the lost pages of the narrative, which forms the conclusion of Strachey's "Historie," at pp. 176-180 of the printed volume.

This interesting narrative of "A Voyage unto New England" is now preserved among the treasures of Lambeth Palace Library, London, bound up in the middle of a quarto volume of manuscripts that bear no special relation to the subject of the voyage. The manuscript, however, may be traced very easily in the catalogue. It is numbered 806. The writer was very agreeably surprised one day, when, in the course of searching for material, he came upon the narrative. Application was at once made for permission to copy it for publication, the request being very kindly granted by Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose authorization is essential before works of this kind can be thus used. A sort of titlepage has been prefixed to the manuscript, in an early hand, by a former possessor, reciting that it was found among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges by one William Griffith. Gorges died in 1647, and we can hardly suppose that his papers would have been subject to overhauling before that event took place.

The manuscript was difficult to decipher, owing to the peculiarity of the chirography, but there is every reason to suppose that the work has been performed faithfully, as it was done by a copyist selected by the obliging Librarian, Mr. S. W. Kershaw.

As to the authorship of the narrative, Strachey, in his "Historie" (p. 165) relates that, on a certain occasion "The pilot, Captain R. Davies, with twelve others, rowed into the bay," &c. In our manuscript, however, which Strachey used, the author at this place says, "Myself was with 12 others," &c. This shows that the name, "Captain R. Davies," was here inserted by Strachey, on his supposition that Robert Davies was the author of the narrative, and was here describing these incidents. Yet Purchas (vol. v. p. 830), who had this manuscript, and quotes briefly from it, as well as from those of other Sagadahoc colonists, places the name of "James Davies" in the margin, as the author of it. Here is apparently conflicting evidence.

Again, the writer of the narrative frequently speaks of himself, as he did in the above instance, in the first person, as "myself," and we might fairly infer that he adhered to this method. Under the date of September 5, in describing another incident, he introduces the names of "Captain Gilbert, James Davies, and Captain Best," which would seem to show that "James Davies," one of the persons named, was not "myself," the author. It should be added, that the writer, while giving their titles to Gilbert and Best, simply gives the name "James Davies" without any title, as one writing his own name might do.

Robert Davies and James Davies are both spoken of by Strachey and by Smith as "Captains," and as members of the colonial Council; and, so far as we know of the relative character and position of the two men, and we know but little, one would be as likely to have written the narrative as the other. If we had full evidence that Robert Davies was the author, we should not be surprised to find no detailed account of the colony by him during the winter, or during the period of his absence from Sagadahoc,—namely, from the 15th of December, when he re-embarked in the "Mary and John," as its commander, for England, till his return in the following spring, with fresh supplies, when all the remaining colonists went back to England. The brief account we have in the concluding part of the narrative, as shown by what Strachey has preserved, might well have been gathered up by Captain Robert Davies on his return to the colony, in 1608, and added to the previous account.

Of course it will be understood that Strachey did not derive from our narrative the statement, on page 178 of his "Historie," that Captain Robert Davies was despatched away to England in the "Mary and John," "soon after their first arrival." The colony arrived in the early part of August, and the "Mary and John" sailed for home December 15 following, more than four months after their arrival, bearing the letter of Captain Popham to the king.

Whoever the author may have been, it would appear, from his own account, at least, that he was a man of some importance; for as the "Mary and John," on the voyage hither, was approaching Gratiosa, he opposed the opinion of the master and his mates, who thought the island was Flores: "Myself withheld them and reproved them." Possibly the "master" of the "Mary and John" on her voyage hither was Robert Davies, whom Strachey calls "the pilot," the commander or captain being Raleigh Gilbert. The opinion of Purchas, that James Davies was the author of our manuscript, is entitled to great weight, and should perhaps control the evidence.

Strachey must have known both these persons, subsequently, in the southern colony of Virginia. One of the vessels which accompanied the fleet hither in 1609, on which voyage Gates and Somers were wrecked at Bermuda, was the "'Virginia,' which was built in the North Colony," in which "Captain Davies" and "Master Davies" were the chief officers. Surely these can be no other than our Sagadahoc acquaintances. Strachey embarked in the "Sea-Adventure," with Gates and Somers. We find "Captain James Davies" mentioned

in a letter of Strachey, written from Virginia in the following year, as commander of "Algernoone Fort," upon Point Comfort.*

Concerning the value of the manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library there can be no question; and it shows very distinctly that Strachey had good authority for the principal part of his narrative relating to the Sagadahoc Colony. He used other authorities also, perhaps one or more of those cited by Purchas in his brief abstract before mentioned. Strachey's whole book, "Historie of Travaile," which embraces an account of the Southern Colony as well, is a compilation, though he probably drew somewhat upon his own experience in his narrative of the latter.

Strachey made some blunders in his summary of our manuscript, but his errors were certainly unintentional. He used the work of Davies without credit, as he did the journals of Gosnold, Pring, and Rosier, but this was in accordance with the custom of the time.

This manuscript we now print is also of value, for the reason that it gives new facts of considerable interest, and leads to a better understanding of the enterprise.

In giving this narrative to the press, it has been thought best to modernize the orthography in those instances where it differed from that of our own day, inasmuch as it often represented the spelling of no particular period. Proper names have been allowed to stand as written.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, voyagers to the New England coast were still indulging in golden dreams, while at the same time searching for a short passage to the Indies in a region where the breadth of an entire continent barred the way. In the order of Providence, however, these shores were destined to become the field of a nobler quest; and, among scenes hitherto frequented only by maritime adventurers, English colonists were destined to find a home, and lay the foundations of a prosperous commonwealth. The attempt to establish the colony at Sagadahoc pointed to this conclusion.

The first known voyage to New England in the seventeenth century was that of Gosnold, who named Cape Cod, and spent some weeks at Cuttyhunk, on the southern coast of Massachusetts.† In 1603 Martin Pring, with two vessels, lay for several weeks in Plymouth Harbor.‡

On Easter Sunday, May 15, 1605, Captain Waymouth sailed from Dartmouth, England, with intentions that have never been sufficiently explained, sighting land in latitude $41^{\circ} 20' N.$ The coast of Cape Cod appearing dangerous, and having a head wind, he did not attempt the southern course. He was also in need of wood and water, and, moreover, being of an irresolute disposition, he concluded to sail with the wind. As the result, on the 18th he found the island now known

* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1733, 1748; Neill, Virginia Company of London, pp. 30, 37, 49.

† Historical and Genealogical Register, for Jan. 1878, p. 76.

‡ Ibid. p. 79.

as Monhegan, under which he anchored, hoping that it would prove the "most fortunate ever discovered." Afterward he reached a harbor which he called "Pentecost" and explored a great distance the river which, in the opinion of the writer, was that now known as the Kennebec, where he set up a cross and took possession in the name of King James.

The advantages derived from Monhegan certainly proved considerable, but Sir Ferdinando Gorges lays the stress upon another point, and affirms that the savages captured by Waymouth and carried to England, and trained for future service, were the means "under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." What he learned from them encouraged him to use his influence with Sir John Popham; and, finally, by their joint efforts, the king was induced to grant two patents, one for the London Company and one for the Plymouth Company; both being under a general governing body composed of thirteen persons, called the "Council of Virginia." The territory of the London Company included the regions between 34° and 41° N., and that of Plymouth 38° and 45° N. They were entitled to coin money, impose taxes and duties, and exercise a general government for twenty-one years.* The value of Waymouth's voyage, therefore, cannot be questioned, and in no inferior sense may he be regarded as one of the founders of New England. It was under this patent that the Popham Colony was undertaken at the mouth of the Kennebec, then known as Sagadahoc.

It is true that the men who undertook the enterprise did not possess the deliberate purpose essential to immediate success. Nevertheless this may be viewed as preparatory to the scheme afterward unfolded on the New England coast. The enterprise was inaugurated in 1606. Some of the notices of this event, however, are contradictory. Strachey says that Sir John Popham "prepared a tall ship well furnished," which set sail from Plymouth under one "Haines, Maister," who took as "Captaine" one "Martin Prin," and that the ship was captured by the Spaniards at the Azores.† But the ship was not captured there, neither was Pring on board. Sir Ferdinando Gorges states that he himself sent out a ship under Captain Challons, with orders to keep to the northward as far as Cape Breton, and then sail southward to Sagadahoc; but that, when the vessel reached the Azores, Challons fell sick, and his subordinates took the responsibility of sailing by the way of the West Indies, where they were captured by the Spaniards and carried to Spain.‡ The account of Stoneman the Pilot indicates that they were carried southward by the *wind*, and so captured and sent to Spain. Stoneman reached England September 18, and reported to Sir Ferdinando.§

* Hazard, vol. i. p. 50.

† "Historie of Travaille," p. 162.

‡ "Brief Narration of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations," in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. pp. 51, 52, and "Brief Relation" of President and Council, in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. p. 3.

§ Stoneman gives a revolting picture of the barbarities of the Spaniards.

But so earnest were the movers in this enterprise, that, before hearing of the fate of Challons another ship was sent out. The "President and Council" say that Thomas Hanam was captain, and "Martine Prine," master. This was Pring who made the voyage of 1603. On reaching the coast of Maine, Pring failed to find Challons, but Gorges says that he made "a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors." In fact, it was the most exact exploration that ever came into his hands.* Hanam also wrote a journal, which Purchas used. He says that Hanam, who sailed to Sagadahoc, "relateth of their beasts, dogs like wolves, of colors black, white, red, grisled: red deer, and a beast bigger, called the mus, &c., of their fowls, fishes, trees: of some ore proved to be silver. Bashabes hath many under-Captains called *Sagamos*: their houses built with withs and covered over with mats, six or seven paces long. He expresseth also the names of their twelve moons or months: as January, Mussekeshó, February, Gignokiakeshos," &c. †

Reaching the year 1607, there are yet some conflicting statements. The memory of Gorges is at fault when he says that "three sail of ships" were employed. The number of "landmen" he puts at one hundred, but in this he does not include Captains Popham and Gilbert, and "divers other gentlemen of note." Smith makes the same statement as to the number of persons. The "Brief Relation" of the President and Council gives the same number of "landmen," but properly mentions only two ships, while Strachey says that there were "one hundred and twenty persons and planters." The author of this journal, our principal guide in the expedition, does not mention the strength of the colonists. There were no women.

Sailing from Plymouth the last day of May, 1607, and from the Lizard, June 1, at six o'clock in the afternoon, at the end of twenty-four days the expedition reached the Azores. Here the principal ship, the "Mary and John," had a narrow escape from the Netherlanders, who seized Captain Gilbert and charged him with being a pirate.

In the mean while Captain Popham, who commanded the fly boat called the "Gift of God," paid no attention to the signals of distress made by Gilbert's crew, and finally sailed away, apparently either ignorant or careless of what was transpiring. After escaping from the Netherlanders, Gilbert also stood to sea, and crossed the ocean alone, sighting the coast of Nova Scotia, July 28. His landfall, however, has been stated incorrectly by every writer who has touched upon the subject. The earliest opinion, encouraged by Smith, placed the landfall at Monhegan, but after the publication of Strachey's work, it was

See Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1832. Also letter of Gorges to Challons. Cal. State Papers, Colo., under March 13, 1607. Folsom gives the wrong date in his Documents relating to Maine (p. 1), where Gorges calls the leader of the voyage "Chalinge," though in the Brief Narration it is "Challoung." Purchas writes, "Challons," and "Chalenge."

* "Brief Narration," chap. v.

† Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

supposed by some to have been Mount Desert, while the "Cape" which appears so prominently in the narrative was regarded as Small Point. These were little better than guesses.

The approach to the land, and the subsequent movements of the "Mary and John," are described particularly by the author of the narrative we now print, who was on this ship. Gilbert crossed the southern edge of Grand Bank and passed thence to Sable Bank. According to the soundings, he did not run very far south of Sable Island. Next he stood west-north-west, looking for the land two or three days; but having a light breeze he made only thirty-six leagues. July 30 the land was seen to the north-west, distant about ten leagues. Failing to reach the coast before night, he "struck a hull," so that it was not until three o'clock the next afternoon that the ship got in upon anchorage. The island under which Gilbert anchored in the storm-tossed "Mary and John" lay in $44^{\circ} 20' N.$ It was "Ironbound," lying in the well-known harbor or river of La Heve. This place was visited in the autumn of the same year by Lescarbot, then on his way home.

The testimony which covers this subject is unanswerable, yet its character has escaped attention. The pilot had a fair opportunity for making his observations, and that fact alone gave a good clew. The name of the port, "Emannet," indeed afforded no help, but the name of the chief in authority there was "Messamott," a fact stated by Strachey. Who, therefore, was "Messamott"? Lescarbot tells us that he was a travelled Sagamore, known on the continent as the Sagamore of La Heve. He had been the guest of Grandmont in France. The summer before the Popham colonists arrived, he sailed to Saco with Champlain to arrange a peace with his enemies. Lescarbot celebrates his prowess in "The Muses of New France," and in his narrative, probably borrowed from Champdoré.

The highland seen by Gilbert when out at sea was the well-known landfall of La Heve. It was the port made by Champlain in 1604.* The general description of Champlain also agrees with that of our author. Lescarbot speaks of the abundance of gooseberries found later in the season.

The "Mary and John" lay here over Sunday, where divine worship was doubtless celebrated by the chaplain; and at midnight, Gilbert took a fair north-east breeze and ran down the coast south-west. The next day many islands were seen. The wind being light, they delayed to catch fish; hence Cape Sable was not reached until the morning of August 4. The journal describes its well-known white rocks, though the latitude is given as only $43^{\circ} N.$ After rounding the cape, they found a "great deep bay," the Bay of Fundy, and sailing thence seven leagues in a westerly direction they made "three Islands," the well-known Seal Islands, almost exactly seven leagues from the cape, with the Horseshoe Ledge nearly a league to the south-west. Gilbert, knowing his ground, sailed confidently for Sagadahoc, until, supposing that he had gone far enough south, he held in north-

* "Œuvres," tome v. p. 50.

erly, expecting to see the high land. On the afternoon of August 5, the Camden Hills appeared, the three double peaks of which rose above the waves, and were sketched by the writer, who thought them ten miles away, but recognized them as the Penobscot Range. He also observes that this is the first land seen after leaving the cape, being thirty-four hours on the way, evidently with little wind.

Standing in toward the west, they next sighted three islands, lying east and west, whose white rocks shone "like unto Dover cliffs," the Matinicus group, which, on this course, *appear* as three. Strachey adds, evidently quoting an exact authority, "There lyeth so-west from the easternmost of the three islands a white rocky island." This is Matinicus Rock, which now bears a lighthouse.

Coming nearer the mountains and to the westward of Matinicus, two of the double peaks already seen rose from the waves, each becoming one. Thence the "Mary and John" held westward eight leagues, and sighted three other islands, Monhegan, Metinic, and Burnt Island, the outer of the Georges group. Under Monhegan, an island already visited and named by Champlain "Ship Island" (*La Nef*), Gilbert dropped anchor.

The succeeding movements of the expedition are tolerably plain, but the outward voyage is now interpreted for the first time. The statements of the journal, when understood, agree with the actual courses, and prove that the master, Robert Davies, or whoever he may have been, was a correct and observing navigator. The modern coast pilot is hardly more clear.

Landing upon the Island of Monhegan, named by Waymouth St. George, a cross was found "set up," the author says, as "we suppose" by Waymouth. In this, however, the company were doubtless at fault, yet the supposition has been accepted as a fact, and has led to much confusion in connection with the voyage of Waymouth. It may have been set up by Pring, who, in 1606, made his exploration of Sagadahoc, and probably sailed to Waymouth's landfall; or by Champlain, in the autumn of 1604.

The next morning, to their great joy, they were joined by the "Gift," now seen for the first time since they parted at the Azores. There was no room, however, for recrimination. At midnight, Gilbert left Monhegan, where the two vessels lay at anchor, and with a dozen men, including the Indian "Skidwarres," a name, according to Rosier, signifying a "gentleman," rowed to Pemaquid, moving with measured stroke among the "gallant islands" that flung down their shadows upon the calm tide. Landing, and crossing Pemaquid Point, they reached an Indian village, and met Nahanada a Sagamore, one of the Indians captured by Waymouth, and who had been returned by Pring the previous year. This chief, though at first alarmed, received the English with joy, after which Gilbert returned to his ship. The next day being Sunday, the members of the expedition landed on Monhegan, and, under the shadow of the cross, they observed what may be called the first English Thanksgiving in New England, the preacher being the Rev. Richard Seymour,

who conducted services, we may well suppose, according to the Book of Common Prayer.*

Sunday being past, another visit was made to Nahanada, but with no result beyond the desertion of Skidwarres; after which they sailed for Sagadahoc, where the "Mary and John" narrowly escaped being wrecked,—finally getting into harbor on Sunday forenoon, August 16. Then followed a boat expedition up the river. Afterward a site was selected for the fort, and the colony duly organized, the company possessing all the powers of a commonwealth. As the fort progressed, Digby, the shipwright, proceeded to build a pinnace, the "Virginia," a craft that afterward did good service on the ocean. Captain Gilbert also explored the Sheepscot River, and later gained the upper reaches of the Kennebec.

The manuscript ends after alluding to the meeting with Sabenor, "Lord of the river of Sagadahock." Strachey, however, continues the account in language which indicates that he is employing the remainder of our narrative. At the end he adds some items perhaps not found in the authority which he had so liberally used. As already mentioned, he is clearly in error when he says that the "Mary and John" was sent back "soon after their first arrival," as the vessel was detained to receive the letter of President Popham addressed to King James, dated Dec. 13, 1607, sailing two days after.

Strachey relates that after the departure of Davies, they finished the fort and built fifty houses therein, besides a church, evidently a little chapel, and a storehouse. "Fifty," however, is doubtless a clerical error for five, as in one place he puts fourteen leagues for forty. Five houses would have been ample for the little company, and would at the same time fill up all the space inside the fort. The President and Council speak simply of "their lodgings"; while our author, on August 31, mentions only "the storehouse." Nevertheless, the fort, with twelve guns and seven buildings, must have appeared quite imposing.

During the winter they seem to have done some exploration, but the season was one of unusual severity both in Europe and America, and before the cold weather was over Captain Popham died. According to Purchas, this event took place February 5.† The "Brief Relation" says that this was the only man that died there, which, technically, may be true; but the journal of Gilbert shows that "Master Patteson was slain by the Savages of Nanhoc, a River of the Tarentines." According to Gorges, the storehouse, containing the most of their provisions, was burned during the winter; ‡ and Harlow says that the "short commons caused a fear of mutiny." Nevertheless, a considerable quantity of furs rewarded their exertions, and a "good store of sarsaparilla" was gathered. The colonists also finished their pinnace, which afterward sailed between England and Virginia.§

* Popham Memorial, p. 101.

† Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

‡ Ibid.

§ In 1609 she is mentioned as "a boat built in the north colony." See *ante*, p. 84.

Captain Gilbert, it appears, heard a story reported by David Ingram,* in 1569, where he says, "The people told our men of Cannibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long," probably deformed Tarrantines. The natives also reported an open sea inland, and the colonists believed that they were not far from China. Popham reported the sea to King James,† as Verrazano reported his open sea to Francis I. Gilbert, not to be outdone by the nutmegs which Popham reported, discovered a lake of hot water.‡ During the winter, religious services were maintained with good results.

Stories, originally put in circulation by the French, represent that eleven of the colonists were murdered by the Indians. Father Biard, however, did not understand the Indian language, yet he says that when he visited Kennebec in 1611, he made inquiries about the English, and was told that they came in 1608, and had a kind leader who died, and that the next year the Indians quarrelled with the English, who attacked them with dogs and fired upon them with cannon. But as the colonists left in 1608, they could not have been guilty of the acts alluded to. The reference to dogs recalls circumstances connected with Weymouth's voyage, while the real offender probably was Henry Hudson, who, in 1609, entered Somes's Sound at Mount Desert, and there, in the most cruel manner, attacked and plundered the savages.§ After getting all he could of the savages by fair means, Hudson's pilot says: "In the morning we manned our scute with four muskets and six men, and took one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets and two stone pieces, or murderers, and drove the savages from their houses and took the spoil of them."|| It may have been this disgraceful and unprovoked attack by the crew of the "Half Moon," who were part English and part Dutch, that has been attributed to the colonists at Sagadahoc. The Indians who gave the information were not of the local tribe, whose peaceable disposition was vouched for, in 1616, by Brawnde; while it was the Pemaquid chief, Samoset, who hailed the Plymouth Pilgrims with the words, "Welcome, Englishmen." It is hardly to be supposed that the savages around Sagadahoc had ever been fired upon with cannon.

Still, though the relations of the colonists to the Indians were peaceful, their enterprise did not succeed; and when Captain Davies returned in the spring, he found the company greatly discouraged, no mines having been found, which Strachey says was "the main

* Hakluyt, London, 1589, pp. 558-561.

† Maine Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 357.

‡ Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

§ Biard wrote two versions of this story. "Rélations des Jésuites," tome i. p. 37, Quebec, 1858: and Carayon's "Première Mission," p. 70. See "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson." In a boastful spirit, the Indians may have changed *one* to *eleven*; but it is more likely that they gave the account to Biard in their bad French, and thus confused *un* with *onze*, as the two words are pronounced so nearly alike.

|| Juet in Asher's "Henry Hudson," p. 61.

intended benefit expected." The presence of Captain Gilbert was also required in England, and Chief Justice Popham being dead, it was concluded to abandon the settlement. Details of the return voyage are wanting, but the colonists must have gone home in a ship that was well furnished with every thing needed to maintain them in the new world. The pinnace was also used on the return passage.

"This," says Strachey, "was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc." No mention is afterward made of any return of the English; and the only recorded visit is that of the French in the autumn of 1611, where no resident was found, the paths leading to the fort being untrodden. Biard says that, in company with Biencourt, he reached the Kennebec from the east, October 28. Entering the harbor where, in 1607, Popham had moored the "Gift" and the "Mary and John," the French were all animation, and at once hastened to view the stronghold built by the English. As they approached the works they knew they were safe, all things indicating the absence of occupants. Biard writes: "Straightway all our people landed, desirous to see the fort of the English, because we had learned from the paths that no person was there. At first they began to praise and extol the enterprise of the English, and to enumerate the advantages of the place"; soon, however, he testifies, they saw the situation with a military eye, and discovered that the ground was badly chosen, as another fort, properly placed, would have cut them off from both the river and the sea.*

Such is the only known description of the place written at that period. The French were evidently impressed by the magnitude of the work. It indicated enterprise, and proved that the builders wrought with regard to something more than a transient occupation. Of the dwellings, nevertheless, Biard says nothing.

Smith says with reference to the enterprise, "They all returned for England in the yeere 1608, and thus the plantation was begun and ended in one yeere, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous desert." Gorges also says, "They all resolved to quit the place and with one consent to [come] away."† The President and Council also say, "The whole company resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships."‡

Yet at all events, the English claimed the coast without qualification, and "Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing."§ In 1611, Harlow confiscated a French ship for intruding upon the waters of Maine. When Biencourt sailed to the site of the colony, it was expressly to attack the English, who were supposed to be there, though such was not the case, as already related. Smith, in 1614,

* Carayon, p. 63. See Hist. Mag., Sept., 1866, where the French of the narrative is misunderstood.

† "Brief Narrative," p. 10.

‡ "Brief Relation," p. 4.

§ "Brief Relation," p. 3

found one of Francis Popham's ships that had frequented the port opposite Monhegan for "many years," for fishing and trading in furs. Vines wintered in the country once, and others were known to have spent the cold season on Monhegan.

Concerning the character and the merits of the colonists of Sagadahoc, there has been some warm discussion, though no established facts have been produced that reflect upon their reputation. The colonists were probably no better than the average men of their class, yet there is nothing to indicate that there were any among them who required disciplinary treatment. The Lord Chief Justice has been denounced for his severe conduct of the courts of justice and for the sins of his youth; but impartial critics will allow that this is altogether aside from the question. So far as we actually know, the course pursued by the colonists was humane and pacific. One of their number was killed by the Tarrantines of the east, while the loss of their provisions induced the fear of a mutiny, yet the temptation to indulge in disorder was resisted. Industry and order seemed to have prevailed, and due respect was shown for the services of religion, the bearing of the English worshippers led by Chaplain Seymour being such as to recommend to the simple savage a faith which he could not comprehend. When, however, it was found that the main purpose for which the colony was undertaken could not be achieved, they departed to employ their activities in another sphere.

Among those who have brought charges against the Popham colonists may be mentioned Aubrey, in his "Letters," &c., vol. ii. p. 495; and Sir William Alexander, "Map and Description," p. 30. Bacon's Essay on "Plantations" has also been used. We have cited Alexander in the "Appendix." The replies to these attacks are well-known, among them being papers by the late Dr. Ballard of Brunswick, Maine.

B. F. DeCosta.

THE RELATION
OF A VOYAGE UNTO NEW
ENGLAND
BEGAN FROM THE LIZARD YE FIRST OF
JUNE 1607.
BY CAPTN POPHAM IN YE SHIP YE GIFT
[AND]
CAPTN GILBERT IN YE MARY AND JOHN:
WRITTEN BY
& FOUND AMONG YE PAPERS OF YE TRULY WOR^{SPFUL}
SR FERDINANDO GORGES K^{NT}
BY ME
WILLIAM GRIFFITH.*

Departed from the Lyzard the first day of June, A.D. [1607], being Monday, about six of the clock in the afternoon, and it bore off me then north-east and by north eight leagues off.

From hence directed our course for the Islands of Flowers and Corve, in the which we were twenty-four days attaining of it, at which time we still kept the sea and never saw but one sail, being a ship of Salcom † bound for the Newfoundland, wherein was one Sosser [?] of Dartmouth, master in her.

The twenty-fifth day of June we fell with the Island of Garsera,‡ one of the islands of the Azores, and it bore off us then south and by east ten leagues off, our master and his mates making it to be Flowers, but myself withstood them and reproved them in their error, as afterward it appeared manifestly, and then stood round for Flowers. The 26th of June we had sight of Flowers and Corve, and the 27th, in the morning early, we were hard aboard Flowers, and stood in for to find good road for to anchor, whereby to take in wood and water. The 28th we descried two sails standing in for Flowers, whereby we presently weighed anchor, and stood towards the road of Santa Cruz, being near three leagues from the place where we watered. There Captain Popham anchored to take in wood and water, but it was so calm that we could not recover or get unto him before the day came on.

* This is not the title given by the author, but was prefixed to the manuscript at a later period. — B. F. D.

† Salcombe. — B. F. D.

‡ The reader will understand that by "Garsera," "Flowers," and "Corve," the islands of Gratiosa, Flores, and Corvo, belonging to the group of the Azores Islands, are intended. — B. F. D.

The Relation
of a Voyage unto New-
England
Began from the Lizard, y^e first of
June 1607.
By Capt^r Popham in his Ship "Gifte"
Captⁿ Gilbert in y^e Mary & John:
Written by
& found among y^e Papers of truly wor^s full
S^r Ferdinando Gorges, &
by me
William Griffith.

The 29th of June being Monday, early in the morning those two sails we had seen the night before were near unto us, and being calm they sent their boats, being full of men, towards us, and after the order of the sea they hailed us, demanding us of whence we were, the which we told them and found them to be Flemens and the state's ships. One of our company, named John Goyett, of Plymouth, knew the captain of one of the ships, for that he had been at sea with him. Having acquainted Captain Gilbert of this, and being all friends, he desired the captain of the Dutch to come near and take a can of beer, the which he thankfully accepted, we still keeping ourselves in a readiness both of our small shot and great. The Dutch captain being come to our ship's side, Captain Gilbert desired him to come aboard him and entertained him in the best sort he could. This done, they to requite his kind entertainment desired him that he would go aboard with them, and upon their earnest entreaty he went with them, taking three or four gentle[men] with them, but when they had him aboard of them they there kept him perforce, charging him that he was a pirate, and still threatening himself and his gentlemen with him to throw them all overboard, and to take our ship from us.* In this sort they kept them from ten of the clock morning until eight of the clock night, using some of his gentlemen in most vile manner, as setting some of them in the bilboes, buffeting of others, and other most vile and shameful abuses; but in the end having seen our commission, the which was proffered unto them at the first, but they refused to see it, and the greatest cause doubting of the Englishmen being of their own company who had promised Captain Gilbert that if they proffered to perform that which they still threatened him that then they all would rise with him, and either end their lives in his defence, or suppress the ship; the which the Dutch perceiving, presently set them at liberty, and sent them aboard unto us again, to our no small joy.† Captain Popham, all this time being in the wind of us, never would come round unto us, notwithstanding we making all the signs that possibly we might, by striking our topsail and hoisting it again three times, and making towards him all that ever we possibly could, so here we lost company of him, being the 29th day of June, about eight of the clock at night, being six leagues from Flowers, west-north-west, we standing our course for Vyrgenia. The 30th we lay in sight of the island.

* Possibly there was some connection between the conduct of the Dutch and the state of feeling indicated by Rosier, where, in the introduction to Waymouth's voyage, he says, "After these purposed designs were concluded, I was animated to publish this brief relation, and not before; because some foreign nation (being fully assured of the fruitfulness of the country) have hoped hereby to gain some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our captain or any special man of our company to combine with them for their direction, nor obtain their purpose in conveying away our savages, which was busily in practice." 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 127. The Dutch certainly made strong efforts to secure New England.—B. F. D.

† Part of this sentence is obscure. We interpret it thus: that the captain of the Dutch ship "doubting," that is, fearing that the Englishmen, making part of his own ship's company, might rise, as they had promised or threatened to do, to prevent any additional outrage on Captain Gilbert and his companions, was induced to liberate them.—B. F. D.

The first day of July being Wednesday, we departed from the Island of Flowers, being ten leagues south-west from it.

From hence we always kept our course to the westward as much as wind and weather would permit, until the 27th day of July, during which time we oftentimes sounded, but could never find ground. This 27th, early in the morning, we sounded, and had ground but eighteen fathoms,* being then in the latitude of $43\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$; here we fished three hours, and took near two hundred of cod, very great and large fish, bigger and larger fish than that which comes from the Bank of the Newfoundland; here we might have laden our ship in less time than a month.

From hence the wind being at south-west, we set our sails and stood by the wind, west north-west towards the land, always sounding for our better knowledge as we ran towards the mainland from the bank.

From this bank we kept our course west north-west thirty-six leagues, which is from the 27th of July until the 30th of July, in which time we ran thirty-six leagues, as is before said, and then we saw the land † about ten of the clock in the morning, bearing north-west from us about ten leagues, and then we sounded and had a hundred fathoms black ooze here. As we came in towards the land from this bank we still found deep water; the deepest within the bank is one hundred and sixty fathoms, and in one hundred fathom ‡ you shall see the land if it be clear weather; after you pass the bank the ground is still black ooze until you come near the shore. This day we stood in for the land, but could not recover it before the night took us, so we stood a little from it and there struck a hull until the next day, being the last of July; here lying at hull we took great store of codfishes, the biggest and largest that I ever saw, or any man in our ship. This day, being the last of July, about three of the clock in the afternoon we recovered the shore and came to an anchor under an island, for all this coast is full of islands or broken land, but very sound and good shipping to go by them, the water deep, eighteen or twenty fathoms hard aboard them.

This island standeth in the latitude of $44\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$,§ and here we had not

* There is only one part of the Bank where, according to the "Atlantic Neptune," this depth is found.—B. F. D.

† The land seen was either Cape La Heve or the Aspotogeo Hills, which are close by. The cape is an abrupt cliff a hundred and seven feet high, pushing boldly out to sea, while the hills are very noticeable far away at sea.—B. F. D.

‡ This deep water is found on the charts as indicated by the journal. The deepest inside Sable Bank, shown by the "Atlantic Neptune," is one hundred and fifty-two fathoms, which occurs in the course sailed. About thirty miles south-east of Cape La Heve, a hundred fathoms are found, indicating with tolerable precision the position of the "Mary and John" when land was first seen.—B. F. D.

§ Ironbound Island lies precisely in this latitude at the mouth of the La Heve River. Blunt says, "The shores are bold, and much indented with irregular inlets or bays." In the vicinity, twenty fathoms of water are common. "Coast Pilot," 21st ed. 1867, p. 195. Mr. Major, misled by Captain John Smith, and neglecting the fact that points of eastern Nova Scotia lie in the same latitude as parts of the Maine coast, says, "The latitude here given would lead to the supposition that the island referred to was Mount Desert Island in Frenchman's Bay; but nearly all other histories record Manhegin Island as the point at which they

been at an anchor past two hours before we espied a bisken shallop coming towards us, having in her eight savages and a little savage boy. They came near unto us and spoke unto us in their language, and we making signs to them that they should come aboard of us, showing unto them knives, glasses, beads, and throwing into their boat some biscuit, but for all this they would not come aboard of us, but making show to go from us, we suffered them. So when they were a little from us, and seeing we proffered them no wrong, of their own accord returned and came aboard of us, and three of them stayed all that night with us. The rest departed in the shallop to the shore, making signs unto us that they would return unto us again the next day.

The next day the same savages, with three savage women, being the first day of August, returned unto us, bringing with them some few skins of beaver in another bisken shallop, proffering their skins to truck with us.* But they demanded over-much for them, and we seemed to make light of them; and

So then the other three which had stayed with us all night went into the shallop, and so they departed. It seemeth that the French † hath trade with them, for they use many French words. The chief commander of these parts is called Messamott, ‡ and the river or har-

first landed." "Historie of Travaile," pp. 165, 166 n. Following Smith, Mr. Bancroft makes the first landing at Monhegan, vol. i. p. 205, ed. 1876.—B. F. D.

* Lescarbot speaks of his traffic here. Evidently it was a well-known trading post.—B. F. D.

† Savalet of Canso was doubtless among their customers, and furnished them with European shallops. "Nouvelle France," p. 604.—B. F. D.

‡ Champlain spells the name "Messamouët," and mentions his visit to Saco, in company with "Secondon," "Œuvres," tome ii. p. 92. Lescarbot describes his doings there in full: "From this isle they went to the river of Olmechin, a port of Choüakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought a Souriquois prisoner (and therefore their enemy) to Sieur Poutrincourt, whom they gave him freely. Two hours after there arrived two savages, one an Etechemin named Chikoudun, captain of the River St. John, called by the savages Oigoudi; the other Souriquois named Messamoët, captain or Sagamore in the river of the port La Heve, where this prisoner was taken. They had a great quantity of merchandise trucked with the French, which they came to sell, viz., large, medium, and small kettles, hatchets, knives, gowns, short mantles, red waistcoats, biscuit, and other things. Thereupon there arrived twelve or fifteen boats full of savages of Olmechin's following, in good order, their faces painted according to their custom, in beautifying themselves, having the bow and arrow in hand, and the quiver which they laid down. Then Messamoët commenced his harangue before the savages, 'reminding them that in the past they had often been at amity, and that they might easily overcome their enemies, if they would act understandingly and make use of their friendship with the French, who were then present in order to reconnoitre the country, to the end that they might bring them commodities in the future, and aid them with their strength which he knew,' and he was able to represent to them so much better, because he who spoke had formerly been in France, and dwelt in the house of Grandmont, Governor of Bayonne. Finally, his speech continued almost an hour with much vehemence and feeling, and with a gesture of body and arms such as is required in a good orator." "Nouvelle France," p. 559, ed. 1612. All this, however, together with his gifts, failed, and the chief went away resolved upon war, which the Saco tribe had already prosecuted as far as La Heve. See also Lescarbot's reference to the warlike actions of this chief in "Les Muses de la Nouvelle France," p. 46, ed. 1612. He probably went on a visit to France in one of De Mont's ships.—B. F. D.

bor is called Emannett.* We take these people to be the Tarentyns † [and these people, as we have learned since, do make wars with Sasa noa, the chief commander to the westward, where we have planted, and this summer they killed his son].‡

So the savages departed from us, and came no more unto us. After they were departed from us we hoisted out our boat, wherein myself § was with twelve others, and rowed to the shore, and landed on this island that we rode under, the which we found to be a gallant island, full of high and mighty trees of sundry sorts; here we also found abundance of gooseberries,|| strawberries, raspberries, and whorts. So we returned and came aboard.

Sunday being the 2d of August, after dinner our boat went to the shore again to fill fresh water; where, after they had filled their water, there came four savages unto them, having their bows and arrows in their hands, making show unto them to have them come to the shore. But our sailors having filled their water would not go to the shore unto them, but returned and came aboard, being about five of the clock in the afternoon. So the boat went presently from the ship unto a point of an island, and there, at low water, in an hour killed near fifty great lobsters. You shall see them where they lie in shoal water, not past a yard deep, and with a great hook made fast to a staff, you shall hitch them up there, a great store of them; you may near load a ship with them, and they are of great bigness; I have not seen the like in England. So the boat returned aboard, and we took our boat in; and about midnight the wind came fair at north-east. We set sail and departed from thence, keeping our course south-west, for so the coast lieth.

Monday being the 3d of August, in the morning we were fair by the shore, and so sailed along the coast; we saw many islands all along the coast, and great sounds going betwixt them, but we could make proof of none for want of a pinnace; here we found fish still all along the coast as we sailed.

Tuesday being the 4th of August, in the morning, five of the clock, we were athwart of a cape ¶ or headland, lying in the latitude of 43°,

* We have not yet found any other reference to the Indian name of the river La Heve in the early chronicles.—B. F. D.

† On these people see Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. vol vii. p. 95.—B. F. D.

‡ The part enclosed in brackets was, of course, added by the author at a later period. For the account of the death of Sasanoa, see later, under August 22.—B. F. D.

§ Strachey, who may have known the author of this journal, says that this person was the pilot, R. Davies. Purchas also used the journal and attributes it to James Davies (vol. v. p. 830).—B. F. D.

|| Lescarbot says, "And in the same port we saw the cod bite the hook. There we found an abundance of red gooseberries (*grocelles rouges*), and a mar cassite of copper mine. There we had some traffic in peltry with the savages." "Nouvelle France," ed. 1612, p. 604. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1640. Champlain puts the Cape of La Heve in 40° 5', and speaks of the islands as covered with pines, and the mainland with oaks, chestnuts, &c. "Œuvres," tome ii. p. 8.—B. F. D.

¶ Whether or not our author meant to say that the cape was exactly in latitude 43° N. is not clear. The cape in question was Cape Sable, which is in

and came very near unto it. It is very low land, showing white like sand, but it is white rocks; and very strong tides* goeth here from the place we stopped at, being in $44\frac{1}{2}$ ^o. Until this cape or headland it is all broken land and full of islands, and large sounds betwixt them, and here we found fish abundance, so large and great as I never saw the like cods before, neither any in our ship.

After we passed this cape or headland, the land falleth away and lyeth in north-west and by north into a great deep bay.† We kept our course from this headland west and west and by south seven leagues, and came to three islands,‡ where coming near unto them we found on the south-east side of them a great ledge of rocks,§ lying near a league into the sea, the which we perceiving tacked our ship, and the wind being large to north-east cleared ourselves of them, keeping still our course to the westward, west and by south, and west south-west until midnight, then after we held in more northerly.

Wednesday being the 5th of August, from after midnight we held in west north-west until three of the clock afternoon of the same, and then we saw the land again, bearing from us north-west and by north, and it riseth in this form hereunder. Ten or twelve leagues from you,

$43^{\circ} 25'$. If he meant to be exact, he was in error to the extent indicated. Mr. Major took the ground that he was in error "more than half a degree." This was assumed to accommodate his theory that the cape was Cape Small Point. He says, "In order to verify and define in modern nomenclature, the description of the course held by the adventurers . . . a very beautiful and elaborate map of this coast, in the British Museum, on a scale of two miles to an inch, has been used"; and he concludes that while the headland was Small Point, the three islands were the Damiscope, Wood, and Outer Heron Islands, with the Pumpkin Ledges. He says "no more southerly cape" would offer the requisite island; whereas what he needed was a *northerly* cape. The fact that the "Mary and John" made her first port, coming in immediately from a well-known fishing bank, alone would be sufficient to prove that the landfall was not on the Maine coast. See Major's remarks in "Historie," p. 166 n. The cape described as "white like sand" was Cape Sable, so called at an early period by the French on account of the *sablon* or sand. If the cape had been Small Point, and the "Mary and John" had continued on the course described, the colonists would have approached the interior of Maine.—B. F. D.

* Blunt's Coast Pilot describes the strong tides running "at the rate of three and sometimes four knots an hour."—B. F. D.

† Bay of Fundy. This, perhaps, may be regarded as the earliest, or one of the earliest, references to the bay by the English; unless Hakluyt had it in mind when he spoke of the "Bay of Menan." (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 107.) On the map of Mollineux (1600) projected by Wright, this bay stands apart from the unnamed gulf which seems to indicate the Bay of Fundy. The Continental maps of the sixteenth century, however, commencing with Verrazano (1520), indicate the bay with distinctness, whether it is called *Terra onde, hondo, condo, fondo, fonda*, or Fundy. See the Verrazano map, in "Verrazano the Explorer," revised from Mag. of American History. Barnes & Co., New York, 1880.—B. F. D.

‡ This group is composed of what is now known as "Seal" and the "Mud Islands." On some charts one name is applied to all. If the smallest were included, they would number four. Sailing to the southward the navigator would notice only three.—B. F. D.

§ This ledge, according to Blunt, "is called the Horseshoe, and runs out two and one-half miles, south-east by south." The description is almost scientifically exact.—B. F. D.

there are three high mountains that lie in upon the mainland near unto the river of Penobscot, in which river the bashabe* makes his abode, the chief commander of those parts, and stretcheth unto the river of Sagadahock under his command. You shall see these high mountains when you shall not perceive the mainland under it, they are of such an exceeding height: and note that from the cape or headland before spoken of, until these high mountains, we never saw any land except those three islands also before mentioned. We stood in right with these mountains until the next day.†



Thursday being the 6th of August, we stood in with this high land, until twelve o'clock noon, and then I found the ship to be in $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ‡ of my observation.§ From thence we set our course and stood away due west, and saw three other islands lying together, being low and flat by the water, showing white as if it were sand, but it is white rocks making show afar off almost like unto Dover cliffs.||

These three islands lie due east and west one of the other, so we came fair by them, and as we came to the westward the high land before spoken of showed itself in this form as followeth.¶



* The article prefixed does not prove that the writer meant to give the word "bashabe" as a title. Afterward he speaks of their Indian guide as "the Skidwarres." See, on this subject, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. vii. p. 95, and Hist. Mag., April, 1868. Strachey adds that the mainland where the mountains stood was "the land called Segohquet." The distance is exaggerated.—B. F. D.

† These three mounts are the same as those given by Strachey in his "Historie" (p. 167). They represent the Camden and Union mountains. The two double peaks at the left represent the four principal peaks of the Union range, while those on the right represents Megunticook.—B. F. D.

‡ Strachey (p. 167) makes the latitude 43° .—B. F. D.

§ It would appear that our author either understood navigation, or used the reckoning of the pilot. In fact he may have used a large portion of his journal, and modified some of the statements, which would account for the variations of Strachey, supposing the latter to have followed another authority here, in part.—B. F. D.

|| These were the Matinicus Islands.—B. F. D.

¶ Upon getting nearer, the mountains rose from the sea, and the double peaks were united. By a comparison of this view with the recently published sketch of the Coast Survey, the resemblance may be traced, though this ancient sketch is very rude. In the "Historie" (p. 168), another view is given that our manuscript omits. The Oxford MS. omits all these sketches. Our sketches have no indication of foliage on the hill-tops.—B. F. D.

From hence we kept still our course west and west by north towards three other islands that we saw lying from these islands before spoken of eight leagues, and about ten of the clock at night we recovered them, and having sent in our boat before night to view it, for that it was calm, and to sound it and see what good anchoring was under it, we bore in with one of them, the which as we came in by we still sounded, and found very deep water forty fathom hard aboard of it. So we stood in into a cove* in it, and had twelve fathom water, and there we anchored until the morning, and when the day appeared we saw we were environed round about with islands; you might have told near thirty islands round about us from aboard our ship.†

This island we call St. Georges Island, for that we here found a cross set up, the which we suppose was set up by George Wayman.‡

Friday being the 7th of August we weighed our anchor, whereby to bring our ship in more better safety howsoever the wind should happen to blow, and about ten of the clock in the morning, as we were standing off a little from the island, we descried a sail standing in towards this island, and we presently made towards her and found it to be the "Gyfte," our consort; so being all joyful of our happy meeting, we both stood in again for the island we rode under before, and there we anchored both together.§

This night following, about midnight, Captain Gilbert caused his ship's boat to be manned and took to himself thirteen other, myself being one, being fourteen persons in all, and took the Indian Skidwarres with us. The weather being fair and the wind calm, we rowed to the west in amongst many gallant islands, and found the river of Pemaquid to be but four leagues west from the island we call St. Georges, where our ship remained still at anchor.

Here we landed in a little cove|| by Skidwarres' direction, and

* This cove does not appear to have been the harbor formed by Mananas which lies close to Monliegan, but a sheltered spot north of the harbor.—B. F. D.

† The islands are certainly numerous.—B. F. D.

‡ There is no proof that the supposition was correct.—B. F. D.

§ First meeting of the ships. Popham appeared to know the anchorage better than Gilbert.—B. F. D.

|| It would appear that they had come to the same place where Waymouth received a hostile reception. It was the resort of at least a portion of the savages abducted by that explorer, and Skidwarres conducts them directly to the place. Rosier writes of the visit made two years previous: "When we came near the point where we saw their fires" one of the men landed and found "two hundred eighty-three savages, every one his bows and arrows, with their dogs and wolves, which they keep tame at command, and not any thing to exchange at all; but would have drawn us further up into a little narrow nook of a river, for their furs, as they pretended." 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 144. That this "little nook of a river" was Pemaquid River appears from the fact that, as Strachey says, Waymouth discovered not only "the most excellent and beneficial river of Sachadehoc," but that "little one of Pemaquid." The "pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks" fed "by a strong run," which Rosier says could be made to "drive a mill," is situated on Cape Newaggin, opposite Pemaquid River, and is indicated on one of the maps of the Coast Survey. It has been examined for the writer, and corresponds exactly with Rosier's description, proving that Waymouth had been on the spot. The pond still flows over into the sea.—B. F. D.

marched over a neck of the land * near three miles. So the Skidwarres† brought us to the savages' houses where they did inhabit, although much against his will, for that he told us that they were all removed and gone from the place they were wont to inhabit; but we answered him again that we would not return back until such time as we had spoken with some of them. At length he brought us where they did inhabit, where we found near a hundred of them, men, women, and children, and the chief commander of them is Nahanada.‡ At our first sight of them, upon a howling or cry that they made, they all presently issued forth towards us with their bows and arrows, and we presently made a stand, and suffered them to come near unto us. Then our Indian Skidwarres spoke unto them in their language, showing them what we were, which when Nahanada, their commander, perceived what we were, he caused them all to lay aside their bows and arrows, and came unto us and embraced us, and we did the like to them again.

So we remained with them near two hours and were in their houses.

Then we took our leave of them and returned with our Indian Skidwarres with us towards our ship, the eighth day of August, being Saturday in the afternoon.

Sunday being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our whole company of both our ships landed on this island, the which we call St. Georges Island, where the cross standeth, and there we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher,§ giving God thanks for our happy meeting and safe arrival into the country, and so returned aboard again.

Monday being the 10th of August, early in the morning Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty others, and Captain Gilbert in his ship's boat with twenty others accompanied, departed from their ships and sailed towards the river of Pemaquyd, and carried with us the Indian Skidwarres, and came to the river right before their houses, where they no sooner espied us but presently Nahanada with all his Indians with their bows and arrows in their hands came forth upon the sands.

So we caused Skidwarres to speak unto him, and we ourselves spoke unto him in English, giving him to understand our coming tended to no evil towards himself || nor any of his people. He told us again he would not that all our people should land. So because we would in no sort offend them, hereupon some ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen ¶ landed, and had some parley together, and afterward they

* Pemaquid Point.—B. F. D.

† An Indian who had been carried away by Waymouth in 1605.—B. F. D.

‡ Another of the Indians abducted by Waymouth.—B. F. D.

§ The Rev. Richard Seymour. See Bishop Burgess in the Popham "Memorial Volume," p. 101. Also Bishop Perry's "Connection of the Church of England with Early Discovery and Colonization," Portland, 1863.—B. F. D.

|| Our copy of the manuscript says "themselfe," but evidently the word intended is *himself*.—B. F. D.

¶ The reader will notice the recurrence of the word "gentlemen," which gives some idea of the reputed *status* of many of the colonists.—B. F. D.

were well contented that all should land. So all landed, we using them with all the kindness that possibly we could; nevertheless, after an hour or two they all suddenly withdrew themselves from us into the woods and left us.

We perceiving this presently embarked ourselves, all except Skidwarres, who was not desirous to return with us.

We seeing this, would in no sort proffer any violence unto him by drawing him perforce, suffered him to remain and stay behind us, he promising to return unto us the next day following, but he held not his promise; so we embarked ourselves, and went unto the other side of the river, and there remained upon the shore the night following.

Tuesday being the 11th of August, we returned and came to our ships where they still remained at anchor under the island we call St. Georges.*

Wednesday being the 12th of August, we weighed our anchor, and set our sails to go for the river of Sagadahock. We kept our course from thence due west until twelve of the clock midnight of the same, then we struck our sails, and laid a hull until the morning, doubting for to overshoot it.

Thursday in the morning, break of the day, being the 13th August, the Island of Sutquin † bore north of us, not past half a league from us, and it riseth in this form hereunder following, the which island lieth right before the mouth of the river Sagadahock south from it near two leagues, but we did not make it to be Sutquin, so we set our sails and stood to the westward for to seek it two leagues further, and not finding the river of Sagadahock, we knew that we had overshot the place; then we would have returned, but could not,‡ and the night in hand. The "Gifte" sent in her shallop and made it, and went into the river this night; but we were constrained to remain at sea all this night, and about midnight there arose a great storm and tempest upon us, the which put us in great danger and hazard of casting away of our ship and our lives, by reason we were so near the shore. The wind blew very hard at south right in upon the shore, so that by no means we could not get off there; we sought all means and did what possible was to be done, for that our lives depended on it. Here we plied it with our ship off and on, all the night, oftentimes espying many sunken rocks and breaches hard by us, enforcing us to put our ship about and stand from them bearing sail when it was more fitter to have taken it in, but that it stood upon our lives to do it, and our boat sunk at our stern, yet would we not cut her from us in hope of the appearing of the day. Thus we continued until the day came; then we perceived ourselves to be hard aboard the lee shore, and no way to escape it but by seeking the shore; then we espied two little islands § lying under our lee.

* Monhegan.—B. F. D.

† Seguin, well known to them through the explorations of Waymouth and Pring.—B. F. D.

‡ Strachey says that it was calm.—B. F. D.

§ The only two islands lying two leagues west of Seguin are Seal Island and the small, nameless rock shown in the Coast Survey Map, No. 5, 1865. Behind the former is safe anchorage, with ten feet at low water.—B. F. D.

So we bore up the helm, and steered in our ship in betwixt them, where, the Lord be praised for it, we found good and safe anchoring. There anchored, the storm still continuing until the next day following.



In this form,
being south
of it.



Being east and
west from the
Island of Sut-
quin, it make-
th in this
form.*

Friday being the 14th of August, that we anchored under these islands, there we repaired our boat, being very much torn and spoiled; then after we landed on this island,† and found four savages and an old woman; this island is full of pine-trees, of oak, and abundance of whorts of four sorts of them.

Saturday being the 15th of August, the storm ended, and the wind came fair for us to go for Sagadehock, so we weighed our anchors and set sail, and stood to the eastward, and came to the island of Sutquin, which was two leagues from those islands we rode at anchor before, and here we anchored under the Island of Sutquin in the eastern side of it, for that the wind was off the shore that we could not get into the river of Sagadehock, and there Captain Popham's ship's boat came aboard of us, and gave us twenty fresh cods that they had taken, being sent out a-fishing.

Sunday being the 16th of August, Captain Popham sent his shallop unto us for to help us in, so we weighed our anchors, and being calm, we towed in our ship, and came into the river of Sagadehock, and anchored by the "Gyfte's" side about eleven of the clock the same day.

Monday being the 17th of August, Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty others, and Captain Gilbert in his ship's boat, accompanied with eighteen other persons, departed early in the morning from their ship, and sailed up the river of Sagadehock for to view the river, and also to see where they might find the most convenient place for their plantation, myself being with Captain Gilbert.

So we sailed up into this river near fourteen ‡ leagues, and found it to be a most gallant river, very broad and of a good depth; we never had less water than three fathom when we had zest § and abundance of great fish in it, leaping above the water on each side of us as we sailed.

So the night approaching, after a while we had refreshed ourselves upon the shore, about nine of the clock we set backward to return

* The sketches of Seguin are quite fair, especially the first. Champlain named the island "Tortue," or the Tortoise, to which it bears a resemblance. In this connection Strachey gives another very rough view of the Union Hills, which is not found in our manuscript. — B. F. D.

† It will be noticed that the language changes to "this island" (Seal Island), as if there were only one island worth mentioning. Strachey errs in saying that the two islands were *west* of Sagadahoc. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey says incorrectly, "forty" — B. F. D.

§ Our transcriber writes "zest." Strachey made it "sest." Perhaps it should read, "when we had *rest*," or came to anchor. — B. F. D.

and came aboard our ships the next day following, about two of the clock in the afternoon. We find this river to be very pleasant, with many goodly islands in it, to be both large and deep water, having many branches in it; that which we took bendeth itself towards the north-east.*

Tuesday being the 18th, after our return we all went to the shore, and there made choice of a place for our plantation, which is at the very mouth or entry of the river of Sagadahocke on the west side of the river, being almost an island † of a good bigness. Whilst we were upon the shore, there came in three canoes by us, but they would not come near us, but rowed up the river, and so passed away.

Wednesday being the 19th of August, we all went to the shore, where we made choice for our plantation, and there we had a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, and after the sermon our patent was read with the orders and laws therein prescribed; then we returned aboard our ship again.

Thursday being the 20th of August, all our company landed and there began to fortify. Our president, Captain Popham, set the first spit of ground unto it, and after him all the rest followed, and labored hard in the trenches about it.

Friday, the 21st of August, all hands labored hard about the fort, some in the trench, some for faggots, and our ship carpenters about the building of a small pinnace or shallop.

Saturday, the 22d of August, Captain Popham early in the morning departed in his shallop to go for the river of Pashipakoke.‡ There they had parley with the savages again, who delivered unto them that they had been at wars with Sasanoa, and had slain his son in fight. Skidwarres and Dehanada were in this fight.

Sunday, the 23d, our president, Captain Popham, returned unto us from the river of Pashipiskeo.

The 24th all labored about the fort.

Tuesday, the 25th, Captain Gilbert embarked himself and fifteen others with him to go to the westward upon some discovery, but the wind was contrary and forced him back again the same day.

The 26th and 27th all labored hard about the fort.

Friday, the 28th, Captain Gilbert, with fourteen others, myself being one, embarked him to go to the westward again; so the wind serving

* They clearly knew the Androscoggin branch, but they ascended the true Kennebec, and must have reached the vicinity of Augusta.—B. F. D.

† The Peninsula of Sabino. Strachey gives the list of officers appointed: "George Popham, gent., was nominated President; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymer, Preacher, Captain Richard Davies, Captain Harlow . . . were all sworne assistants." ("Historie of Travaille," p. 172,) Smith says in his "General Historie," "That Honourable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, . . . sent Captain George Popham for President, Captain Rawleigh Gilbert for Admiral, Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance, Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant-Major, Captain Ellis Best, Marshall, Mr. Leaman, Secretary, Captain James Davis to be Captaine of the Fort, Mr. Gome Carew to be searcher: All those were of the council"—B. F. D.

‡ Sheepscot.—B. F. D.

we sailed by many gallant islands, and towards night the wind came contrary against us, so that we were constrained to remain that night under the headland called Semeamis * where we found the land to be most fertile, the trees growing there doth exceed for goodness and length, being the most part of them oak and walnut, growing a great space asunder one from the other, as our parks in England, and no thicket growing under them. Here we also found a gallant place to fortify,† whom nature itself hath already framed, without the hand of man, with a running stream of water hard adjoining under the foot of it.

Saturday, 29th of August, early in the morning we departed from thence, and rowed to the westward, for that the wind was against us; but the wind blew so hard that forced us to remain under an island two leagues from the place we remained the night before. Whilst we remained under this island there passed two canoes by us; after midnight we put from this island in hope to have gotten the place we desired, but the wind arose and blew so hard at south-west contrary for us that forced us to return.

Sunday being the 30th August, returning before the wind we sailed by many goodly islands, for betwixt this headland called Semeamis and the river of Sagadehock, is a great bay in the which lyeth so many islands, and so thick and near together that you cannot well discern to number them, yet may you go in betwixt them in a good ship, for you shall have never less water than eight fathoms. These islands are all overgrown with woods, very thick, as oaks, walnut, pine trees, and many other things growing, as sarsaparilla, hazel-nuts, and whorts in abundance.

So this day we returned to our fort at Sagadehock.

Monday being the last of August, nothing happened; but all labored for the building of the fort, and for the storehouse, to receive our victual.

Tuesday, the 1st of September, there came a canoe unto us in the which was two great kettles of brass; some of our company did parley with them; but they did rest very doubtful of us, and would not suffer more than one at a time to come near unto them, so he departed.

The second day, third and fourth, nothing happened worth the writing, but that each man did his best endeavor for the building of the fort.

Saturday being the 5th of September, there came into the entrance of the river of Sagadehock, nine canoes, in the which was Dehanada and Skidwarres with many others, in the whole near forty persons, men, women, and children; they came and parleyed with us, and we again used them in all friendly manner we could, and gave them victuals for to eat.

So Skidwarres and one more of them stayed with us until night. The rest of them withdrew them in their canoes to the further side of the river; but when night came, for that Skidwarres would needs go to the rest

* Cape Elizabeth.—B. F. D.

† On that cape stands Fort Preble.—B. F. D.

of his company, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with James Davis and Captain Ellis Best, took them into our boat and carried them to their company on the further side the river, and there remained amongst them all the night, and early in the morning the savages departed in their canoes for the river of Pemaquid, promising Captain Gilbert to accompany him in their canoes to the river of Penobskott, where the Bashabe remaineth.

The 6th nothing happened ; the 7th our ship, the "Mary and John," began to discharge her victuals.

Tuesday being the 8th of September, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with twenty-two others, myself being one of them, departed from the fort to go for the river of Penobskott, taking with him divers sorts of merchandise for to trade with Bashabe, who is the chief commander of those parts ; but the wind was contrary against him, so that he could not come to Dahanada and Skidwarres at the time appointed, for it was the eleventh day before he could get to the river of Pemaquid, where they do make their abode.

Friday, the 11th, in the morning early we came into the river of Pemaquid, there to call Nahanada and Skidwarres, as we had promised them, but being there arrived we found no living creature ; they all were gone from thence ; the which we perceiving, presently departed towards the river of Penobskott, sailing all this day and the 12th and 13th the like, yet by no means could we find it.* So, our victual being spent, we hasten to return. So the wind came fair for us, and we sailed all the fourteenth and fifteenth days, in returning, the wind blowing very hard at north, and this morning, the fifteenth day, we perceived [a] blazing star † in the north-east of us.

The 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, nothing happened, but all labored hard about the fort and the storehouse for to land our victuals.

The 23d being Wednesday, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with nineteen others, myself one of them, departed from the fort to go for the head of the river of Sagadahock. We sailed all the day ; so did we the like the 24th until the evening, then we landed there to remain that night. Here we found champion land and exceeding fertile ; so here we remained all night.

The 25th being Friday, early in the morning we departed from hence, and sailed up the river about eight leagues farther, until we came unto an island, being low land and flat. At this island is a great down-fall of water, the which runneth by both sides of this island, very swift and shallow. In this island we found great store of grapes, exceeding good and sweet, of two sorts, both red, but the one of them is a marvellous deep red. By both the sides of this river the grapes grow in abundance, and also very good hops, and also chebolls ‡ and garlic, and for the goodness of the land it doth so far abound that I cannot almost express the same. Here we all went ashore, and with a strong rope made fast to our boat and one man in her to guide her against

* If Waymouth or Pring had visited that river in 1605-6, Popham would doubtless have had better directions for finding it.—B. F. D.

† A meteor.—B. F. D.

‡ A small onion.—B. F. D.

the swift stream, we plucked her up through it perforce. After we had passed this downfall we all went into our boat again, and rowed near a league farther up into the river, and night being at hand, we here stayed all night, and in the first of the night, about ten of the clock, there came on the farther side of the river certain savages, calling unto us in broken English. We answered them again, so for this time they departed.

The 26th being Saturday, there came a canoe unto us, and in there four savages, them that had spoken unto us in the night before. His name that came unto us is Sabenor ; he maketh himself unto us to be Lord of the river of Sagadahock.*

[They entertained him friendly, and took him into their boat and presented him with some trifling things, which he accepted ; howbeit, he desired some one of our men to be put into his canoe as a pawn for his safety, whereupon Captain Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoe rowed away from them, with all the speed they could make, up the river. They followed with the shallop, having great care that the Sagamo should not leap overboard. The canoe quickly rowed from them and landed, and the men made to their houses, being near a league in the land from the river's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop, making good way, at length came unto another downfall, which was so shallow and so swift that by no means they could pass any further ; for which Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed and took their fare, the savage Sagamo, with them, and went in search after these other savages, whose houses, the Sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not far off ; and after a good, tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those savages' houses, where they found near fifty able men, very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seen, all new painted, and armed with their bows and arrows. Howbeit, after that the Sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who showed them their commodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond, and by way of trade made show that they would come down to the boat, and there bring such things as they had to exchange them for ours. So Captain Gilbert departed from them, and within half an hour after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoes down unto them, and in them some sixteen savages, and brought with them some tobacco, and certain small skins which were of no value, which Captain Gilbert perceiving, and that they had nothing else wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come aboard, and, as he would have put from the shore ; the savages, perceiving so much, subtly devised how they might put out the fire in the shallop, by which means they saw they should be free from the danger of our men's

* What follows, in brackets, is wanting in the Lambeth Library manuscript. It is taken from the Bodleian version of Strachey's work, the number of the manuscript being 1758. The narrative in the Lambeth manuscript ends abruptly at the bottom of the last leaf, as though the following pages had been removed. This portion in brackets corresponds with pages 176-180 in Strachey's printed volume.—B. F. D.

pieces ; and, to perform the same, one of the savages came into the shallop, and taking the firebrand, which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as soon as he had gotten it into his hand he presently threw it into the water and leaped out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert, seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their muskets, and the targetiers, too, from the head of the boat, and bade one of the men before, with his target on his arm, to step on the shore for more fire ; the savages resisted him, and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat rope that the shallop could not put off. Captain Gilbert caused the musketeers to present their pieces, the which the savages seeing, presently let go the boat rope, and betook them to their bows and arrows, and ran into the bushes, nocking their arrows, but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the further side of the river, where one of the canoes came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain Gilbert made show as if he were still friends, and entertained them kindly, and so left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night. The head of the river standeth in 45° and odd minutes.* Upon the continent they found abundance of spruce-trees, such as are able to mast the greatest ship his majesty hath, and many other trees, oak, walnut, pine-apple ; fish abundance ; great store of grapes, hops, and chiballs ; also they found certain cods† in which they supposed the cotton wool to grow, and also upon the banks many shells of pearl.

27th. Here they set up a cross and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by-river of some note called Sasanoa. This day and the next they sought it, when the weather turned foul, and full of fog and rain ; they made all haste to the fort, before which, the 29th, they arrived.

30th, and 1st and 2d of October, all busy about the fort.

3d. There came a canoe unto some of the people of the fort, as they were fishing on the sand, in which was Skidwares, who bade them tell their president that Nahanada, with the Bashabae's brother and others, were on the further side of the river, and the next day would come and visit him.

4th. There came two canoes to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Basshabae's brother, and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo ; all whom the president feasted and entertained with all kindness, both that day and the next, which being Sunday, the president carried them with him to the place of public prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending it with great reverence and silence.

6th. The savages departed, all except Amenquin, the Sagamo, who would needs stay amongst our people a long time. Upon the departure of the others, the president gave unto every one of them

* This latitude is too high. It was guess-work or a clerical error. — B. F. D.

† An old term for pods. — B. F. D.

copper beads or knives, which contented them not a little, as also delivered a present unto the Basshabae's brother to be presented unto Bassaba, and another for his wife, giving him to understand that he would come unto his court in the river of Penobscot, and see him very shortly, bringing many such like of his country commodities with him.

You may please to understand how,* while this business was thus followed here, soon after their first arrival, that had despatched away Captain Robert Davies, in the "Mary and John," to advertise both of their save arrival and forwardness of their plantation within the river of Sachadehoc, with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, importuning a supply for the most necessary wants in the subsisting of a colony to be sent unto them betimes the next year.†

After Captain Davies's departure, they fully finished the fort, trenched and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance, and built fifty ‡ houses therein, beside a church and storehouse; and the carpenters framed a pretty pinnace, of about thirty ton, which they called the "Virginia," the chief shipwright being one Digby, of London. Many discoveries, likewise, had been made, both to the main and unto the neighboring rivers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Captain Gilbert, had not the winter proved so extreme unseasonable and frosty; for it being the year 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, it was here likewise as vehement, by which no boat could stir upon any business. Howbeit, as time and occasion gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefit or knowledge of the planters, for which, when Captain Davies arrived there in the year following (set out from Topsam, the port town of Exciter, with a ship laden full of victuals, arms, instruments, and tools, &c.), albeit he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in a good forwardness, and many kinds of furs obtained from the Indians by way of trade, good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and the new pinnace all finished. But by reason that Captain Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead, and a fair portion of his land fallen unto his share, which required his repair home, and no mines discovered, nor hope thereof, being the main intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantation, and the fear that all the other winters would prove like this first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especially Captain Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead; wherefore they all embarked in this new arrived ship, and in the new pinnace, the "Virginia," and set sail for England. And this was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc.]

* At this point the style of Strachey's narrative changes. The journal of Davies may have been exhausted, or he may have continued it in abstract, or the part which follows may have been drawn from another hand.—B. F. D.

† It is nowhere stated that the "Gift" returned in 1607. It is possible, notwithstanding what might be inferred from Strachey, that she remained during the winter.—B. F. D.

‡ We should undoubtedly read *five*.—B. F. D.

APPENDIX.

The original sources of information concerning the Sagadahoc Colony, which were known previous to the publication of the Strachey volume in 1849, by the Hakluyt Society, were,— 1. Sir Ferdinando Gorges's "Brief Narration," written not long before his death, in 1647, and left in manuscript, and not published till 1658. The narrative is strangely wanting, in many parts of it, in dates; and many of the dates which are introduced are erroneous. Some of its errors are probably due to a lack of memory, others to a faulty press. Notwithstanding all these defects, the book is indispensable, and many of its errors may be corrected by other writings. Only a small part of the tract relates to the Sagadahoc Colony. 2. The "Brief Relation" of the President and Council for New England, published in 1622. The Council for New England was substantially a reincorporation of the first or Northern Colony of Virginia; and inherited its traditions, and entered into its labors. 3. Smith's "Generall Historie," pp. 203, 204, published in 1624. This book has some details taken from original sources. 4. Purchas's "Pilgrimage," 1614. In the margin, at p. 756, and repeated in the later editions of 1617 and 1626, are some detached facts about the colony, which the compiler selected from the letters or journals of the colonists, and from the notes of Hakluyt, whose papers came into Purchas's possession. From all these sources combined, the account afforded of the Sagadahoc settlement is of the most meagre character. We fail to get more than a glimpse of the life of the colony during the severe winter they experienced there, and of the circumstances attending the return of more than half the colonists in December, and of the final breaking up and return of the remainder, when the ship or "ships" came back with supplies the next year. Besides, we were sadly deficient in data for the greater part of the events. Neither did the Strachey narrative, published thirty years ago, supply these desiderata, as regards the concluding part of the colonists' history, nor, indeed, does that we now publish, which is substantially the basis of Strachey's account. We shall yet have to wait patiently for the letters or journals of other colonists, namely, John Eliot, George Popham, Raleigh Gilbert, and Edward Harlow, seen by Purchas, to come to light.

We now extract for publication, as an appendix to the foregoing narrative of the Sagadahoc Colony, the several accounts named above, in order that the reader may have before him all the original sources of information that our early chronicles afford. In the editorial Preface, we have already made several extracts from these accounts. We also append a brief extract from Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies."

B. F. D.

*From Sir Ferdinando Gorges's "Brief Narration." London, 1658,
pp. 8-10.*

"The Despatch of the First Plantation, for the Second Colony sent from
Plymouth."

"By the same authority all things fully agreed upon between both the Colonies, the Lord Chief Justice [Popham], his friends and associates of the West Country, sent from Plymouth Captain Popham as president for that employment, with Captain Rawley Gilbert and divers other gentlemen of note in three sail of ships* with one hundred landmen, for the seizing such a place as they were directed unto by the Council of that colony, who departed from the coast of England the one and thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1607, and arrived at their rendezvous the 8th of August following; as soon as the president had taken notice of the place, and given order for landing the provisions, he despatched away Captain Gilbert, with Skitwarres his guide, for the thorough discovery of the rivers and habitations of the natives, by whom he was brought to several of them, where he found civil entertainment, and kind respects, far from brutish or savage natures, so as they suddenly became familiar friends, especially by the means of Dehamda and Skitwarrers, who had been in England; Dehamda being sent by the Lord Chief Justice with Captain Prin, and Skitwarres by me in company, so as the president was earnestly entreated by Sasse-now, Aberemet, and others the principal Sagamores (as they call their great lords), to go to the Bashabas, who, it seems, was their king, and held a state agreeable, expecting that all strangers should have their address to him, not he to them.

"To whom the president would have gone after several invitations, but was hindered by cross winds and foul weather, so as he was forced to return back, without making good what he had promised, much to the grief of those Sagamores that were to attend him. The Bashabas notwithstanding, hearing of his misfortune, sent his own son to visit him, and to beat a trade with him for furs. How it succeeded, I could not understand, for that the ships were to be despatched away for England, the winter being already come; for it was the fifteenth day of December before they set sail to return, who brought with them the success of what had past in that employment, which so soon as it came to the Lord Chief Justice's hands, he gave out order to the council for sending them back with supplies necessary.†

"The supplies being furnished and all things ready only attending for a fair wind, which happened not before the news of the Chief Justice's death was posted to them to be transported to the discomfort of the poor planters; but the ships arriving there in good time was a

* Strachey, and our narrative, which he used, and the "Brief Relation," say two ships.—B. F. D.

† Sir Ferdinando's memory is here at fault. Chief Justice Popham had died as early as the 7th June, 1607, a week only after the expedition sailed for Sagadahoc. His son, Sir Francis Popham, interested himself in sending the supplies. Strachey speaks of but one ship being despatched for England, the "Mary and John."—B. F. D.

great refreshing to those that had had their storehouse and most of their provisions burnt the winter before.

"Besides that, they were strangely perplexed with the great and unseasonable cold they suffered with that extremity, as the like hath not been heard of since, and it seems was universal, it being the same year that our Thames was so locked up that they built their boats upon it, and sold provisions of several sorts to those that delighted in the novelties of the times. But the miseries they had past were nothing to that they suffered by the disastrous news they received of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, that suddenly followed the death of their president; but the latter was not so strange, in that he was well stricken in years before he went, and had long been an infirm man. Howsoever heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God, and honorable to his country, but that of the death of the Chief Justice was such a corrosive to all as struck them with despair of future remedy, and it was the more augmented, when they heard of the [death of] Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Ralph Gilbert* that was then their president, a man worthy to be beloved of them all for his industry and care for their well being. The president was to return to settle the estate his brother had left him, upon which all resolved to quit the place, and with one consent to [come] away, by which means all our former hopes were frozen to death, though Sir Francis Popham could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitless, and was necessitated at last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone.

"Although I was interested in all those misfortunes, and found it wholly given over by the body of the adventurers, as well for that they had lost the principal support of the design, as also that the country itself was branded by the return of the plantation, as being over-cold, and in respect of that, not habitable by our nation.

"Besides, they understood it to be a task too great for particular persons to undertake, though the country itself, the rivers, havens, harbors, upon that coast might in time prove profitable to us.

"These last acknowledgments bound me confidently to prosecute my first resolution, not doubting but God would effect that which man despaired of, as for those reasons, the causes of others' discouragements, the first only was given to me, in that I had lost so noble a friend, and my nation so worthy a subject. As for the coldness of the clime, I had had too much experience in the world to be frightened with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder than the clime from whence they came, yet plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities from trade and commerce than those parts afforded, if like industry, art, and labor be used, for the last I had no reason greatly to despair of means when God should be pleased, by our ordinary frequenting that country, to make it appear, it would

* Rawley Gilbert. — B. F. D.

yield both profit and content to as many as aimed thereat, these being truly, for the most part, the motives that all men labor, howsoever otherwise adjoined, with fair colors and goodly shadows."

*From "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England." London, 1622, pp. 2-4.**

"Hereupon Captain Popham, Captain Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships and an hundred landmen, ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence, until other supply might be sent. In the mean while, before they could return, it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham, his son, certain of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next year, holding on our first resolution, to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

"But the ships arriving there did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was president of that council, but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead; who was the only man, indeed, that died there that winter, wherein they endured the greater extremities; for that in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

"This calamity and evil news, together with the resolution that Captain Gilbert was forced to take for his own return (in that he was to succeed his brother in the inheritance of his lands in England), made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small help they had), built a pretty bark of their own, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning.

"The arrival of these people here in England was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, insomuch as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after; only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing; of whose loss or gains himself is best able to give account.

* After relating the sending out of Captain Henry Challons, whose voyage was "overthrown"; and the despatch of Captain Thomas Hanam, to "second" Challons, who could not be found; and that the Lord Chief Justice Popham, and his associates, on Hanam's favorable report of the country, "waxed so confident of the business, that the year following every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to join in the charge for sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation," the narrative proceeds as above.—B. F. D.

"Our people abandoning the plantation in this sort as you have heard, the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits." *

From Captain John Smith's "Generall Historie of New England," fol. London, 1624, pp. 203, 204.

"Concerning this History you are to understand the letters-patents granted by his Majesty in 1606, for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34° to 44° , which was divided in two parts; namely, the first colony and the second. The first was to the honorable city of London, and such as would adventure with them to discover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41. The second was appropriated to the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plimoth, &c., and the west parts of England, and all those that would adventure and join with them, and they might make their choice anywhere betwixt the degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least one hundred miles distance betwixt these two colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their several plantations alike. Now this part of America hath formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Nus-koneus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased. But because it was so mountainous, rocky, and full of isles, few have adventured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding, that honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it, and sent Captain George Popham for President; Captain Rawley Gilbert for Admiral; Captain Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance; Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant-Major; Captain Elis Best, Marshal; Master Seaman, Secretary; Captain James Davis to be Captain of the Fort; Master Gome Carew, Chief Searcher. All those were of the Council, who, with some hundred more, were to stay in the country. They set sail from Plimouth the last of May, and fell with Monahigan the 11th of August. At Sagadahock, nine or ten leagues southward, they planted themselves at the mouth of a fair, navigable river, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky; that extreme frozen winter was so cold they could not range nor search the country, and their provision so small, they were glad to send all but forty-five of their company back again. Their noble president, Captain Popham, died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided of all necessaries to supply them, and some small time after another,† by whom under-

* The narrative then proceeds to speak of Argall's expedition, in which he proceeded "to displace" the Frenchmen who had built forts at "Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Port Reall." — B. F. D.

† Strachey, p. 179, speaks of but one ship returning to the colony with supplies, that commanded by Captain (Robert) Davies, adding, that in this ship and the new pinnace, the "Virginia," the colony "all embarked" for England. — B. F. D.

standing of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, whose lands there the president, Rawley Gilbert, was to possess, according to the adventurer's directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England in the year 1608, and thus this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert."

*From Purchas's "Pilgrimage." London, 1614, p. 756.**

"A.D. 1607, was settled a plantation in the River Sagadahoc; the ships called the "Gift" and the "Mary and John,"† being sent thither by that famous English Justicer, Sir John Popham, and others. They found this coast of Virginia full of islands, but safe. They chose the place of their plantation at the mouth of Sagadahoc, in a westerly peninsula: there heard a sermon, read their patent and laws, and built a fort. They sailed up to discover the river and country, and encountered with an island where was a great fall of water, over which they hauled their boat with a rope, and came to another fall, shallow, swift, and unpassable. They found the country stored with grapes, white and red, good hops, onions, garlic, oaks, walnuts, the soil good. The head of the river is in forty-five and odd minutes. Cape Sineamis in 43° 30', a good place to fortify. Their fort bare name of Saint George. Forty-five remained there,‡ Captain George Popham being President, Raleigh Gilbert, Admiral. The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, and would say King James is a good king, his God a good God, and Tanto naught. So they call an evil spirit which haunts them every moon, and makes them worship him for fear. He commanded them not to dwell near or come among the English, threatening to kill some and inflict sickness on others, beginning with two of their Sagamos children, saying he had power, and would do the like to the English the next moon, to wit, in December.

"The people§ told our men of cannibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long, but they saw them not. In the river of Tamescot they found oysters nine inches in length; and were told that on the other side there were twice as great. On the 18th of January they had, in seven hours' space, thunder, lightning, rain, frost, snow, all in abundance, the last continuing. On February 5 the president died. The savages remove their dwellings in winter nearest the deer. They have a kind of shoes a yard long, fourteen inches broad, made like a racket, with strong twine or sinews of a deer; in the midst is a hole wherein they put their foot, buckling it fast. When a Sagamos dieth they black themselves, and at the same time yearly renew their mourning with great howling; as they then did for Kashurakeny, who

* In the margin of the book from which this account is taken, Purchas places his authorities. We have therefore placed these names at foot, leading from the words in the text as they are given in Purchas.—B. F. D.

† James Davies.

‡ Jo. Eliot. G. Pop. Let. to S. I. Gilbert and E. S.

§ Ral. Gilbert.

died the year before. They report that the cannibals have a sea behind them. They found a bath two miles about, so hot that they could not drink it. Mr. Patteson was slain by the savages of Nanhoc, a river of the Tarentines. Their short commons* caused fear of mutiny. One of the savages, called Aminquin, for a straw hat and knife given him, stripped himself of his clothing of beaver's skins, worth in England fifty shillings or three pounds, to present them to the president, leaving only a flap to cover his privities. He would also have come with them for England. In winter they are poor † and weak, and do not then company with their wives, but in summer when they are fat and lusty. But your eyes wearied with this Northern view, which in that winter communicated with us in extremity of cold, look now for greater hopes in the Southern Plantation, as the right arm of this Virginian body, with greater costs and numbers furnished from hence."‡

*From Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies," &c.
London, 1624, p. 30. §*

"That which is now called New England was first comprehended within the patent of Virginia, being the north-east part thereof. It was undertaken in a patent by a company of gentlemen in the west of England, one of whom was Sir John Popham, then chief justice, who sent the first company that went of purpose to inhabit there near to Sagadahoc; but those that went thither, being pressed to that enterprise, as endangered by the law, or by their own necessities (no enforced thing proving pleasant, discontented persons suffering, while as they act can seldom have good success and never satisfaction), they after a winter stay, dreaming to themselves of new hopes at home, returned back with the first occasion, and to justify the suddenness of their return, they did coin many excuses, burdening the bounds where they had been with all the aspersions that possibly could devise, seeking by that means to discourage all others, whose provident forwardness importuning a good success, might make their base sluggishness for abandoning the beginning of a good work to be the more condemned."

* Edward Harley.

† Other notes ap. Hak.

‡ This extract was first published in this, the second edition, of the "Pilgrimage"; also in the third edition, 1617, and in the fourth, 1626. A copy of this last edition usually accompanies the four volumes of Purchas's "Pilgrims," London, 1625, another work, and is commonly cited as vol. v. of that book.—B. F. D.

§ In printing this extract from Sir William Alexander, we would remark, that the phrase "endangered by the law," might refer to poor debtors, and does not necessarily imply that the Sagadahoc colonists, or any part of them, were criminals. We have seen no evidence that they bore that character, and no laws existed at that time authorizing the transportation of criminals to Virginia.—B. F. D.